THE

# CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA.

LONDON:
Printed by A. SPOTTISWOODE,
New-Street-Square.

THE

# CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA.

CONDUCTED BY THE

REV. DIONYSIUS LARDNER, LL.D. F.R.S. L. & E.

M.R.I.A. F.R.A.S. F.L.S. F.Z.S. Hon. F.C.P.S. &c. &c.

ASSISTED BY

EMINENT LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC MEN.

## History.

# FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE,

COMPRISING

EW OF THE INVASION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE BARBARIANS.

BY J. C. L. DE SISMONDI.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, & LONGMAN,

PATERNOSTER-ROW;

AND JOHN TAYLOR,

UPPER GOWER STREET.

1834.

ANALYTICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL

# TABLE.

## CHAPTER XIV.

CONQUESTS OF THE SARACENS UNDER THE FIRST KHALIPHS. — A. D. 632—680.


| A. D. | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| | Islamism promulgated beyond the Confines of Arabia, after the Death of Mohammed | 3 |
| | The Arabs, hitherto so little feared, adopt no new Weapons; their Spirit alone is changed | 3 |
| | Enthusiasm and Disinterestedness of all: Abubekr, the first Khaliph or Lieutenant of the Prophet | 5 |
| 634. | Omar succeeds him; his Abstinence and Simplicity; Conquests of his Lieutenants, Khaled, Amru, and Abu-obeidah | 6 |
| | His Instructions to his Lieutenants; State of Syria after the Wars of Chosroes | 8 |
| | The Khaliph declares War at the same time against the Romans and the Persians; triple Alternative offered them | 10 |
| | Submission of Bosra, Damascus, Emessa, and Balbec; their Conversion to Islamism | 11 |
| 637. | Omar goes in Person to take Possession of Jerusalem; his Moderation | 12 |
| | Taking of Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch; Defeat of Yezdegerd; Conquest of Persia | 13 |
| 638. | The Arabs invited into Egypt by the Copts; Amru appears before Memphis; Surrender of Memphis; Alliance with the Copts; Siege of Alexandria | 15 |
| 640. | Dec. 22d. — Conquest of Alexandria; Story of the burning of the Library | 17 |
| | Change in the Manners and Habits of the Musulman Army; Discordance with those of the Khaliphs | 18 |
| 644—655. | Othman, Successor to Omar; his Victories; Complaints of the Army; his Assassination | 20 |

| A. D. | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| 636—661. | Ali, the fourth Khaliph; Disturbances excited by Ayesha, the Widow of Mohammed; Battle of the Camel | 21 |
| | Revolt of Moaviah at Damascus; civil War; Assassination of Ali | 22 |
| | Schism of the Shiahs and the Sunnis; Conquests of Moaviah in Asia and Africa | 23 |
| 680. | Death of Hossein, Son of Ali, and Grandson of the Prophet; the Fatimides in Arabia | 24 |


## CHAP. XV.

THE OMMIADES AND CHRISTIANITY. — A. D. 661—750.


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 661—750. | Fourteen Ommiades Khaliphs succeed each other at Damascus; they plunge into a Life of Voluptuousness | 28 |
| | Their Subjects, the Asiatics, formerly so effeminate and cowardly, preserve their Enthusiasm and Bravery | 29 |
| | The Pleasure derived from the Development of the Mind, and the Energy, their Reward | 30 |
| | Mohammed called on Men to think, and to preach his Doctrine: his later Successors prohibited Thought | 31 |
| | Progress of Literature; Mohammed had made no Attack upon Liberty | 32 |
| | The Nation, moved by a Passion common to all, was free, even while it obeyed | 34 |
| | Attacks of the Arabs on Christendom, in Greece and in Spain; Family of Heraclius | 35 |
| 641—711. | Constantine Pogonatus defends Constantinople against | |
| 668—675. | Moaviah; Invention of the Greek Fire | 36 |
| 685—711. | Reign of Justinian II.; his Ferocity; his Ten Years' Exile; his Restoration | 38 |
| | Civil Wars in the Empire of the Khaliphs, once more save the Greeks | 39 |
| 715. | Moslemah marches to the Attack of Constantinople | 40 |
| 717—741. | Reign of Leo the Isaurian; Iconoclast Controversy | 40 |
| 665—689. | Conquest of Africa by Akbah | 41 |
| 692—698. | Conquest and Destruction of Carthage | 42 |
| | Conquest of Mauritania: the Arabs summoned into Spain by some Visigothic Chiefs | 43 |
| 554—711. | Twenty Visigothic Kings at Toledo; their Decline, their Luxury, and Indolence | 43 |
| 711. | Tarik, at the Head of the Musulmans, defeats Rodrigo, King of the Visigoths, at Xeres | 45 |
| 711—713. | The whole of Spain conquered by the Musulmans | 46 |
| | State of the Franks at the Death of Pepin of Heristal | 47 |
| 715—732. | Conquests of the Saracens in Southern Gaul; their Incursions as far as Autun | 47 |
| 732. | Charles Martel defeats the Saracens near Poictiers, and saves Europe from their Inroads | 49 |

## CHAP. XVI.

THE CARLOVINGIANS. — EARLY PART OF THE REIGN OF CHARLEMAGNE. — A. D. 714—800.


| A. D. | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| 714—741. | Profound Obscurity of the Eighth Century; Administration of Charles Martel | 50 |
| | Continual Wars of Charles Martel | 51 |
| | Fainéans Kings maintained by him in Luxury | 53 |
| | Confusion of Charles Martel with Charlemagne by Romance Writers | 54 |
| 741—747. | Hatred of the Church for Charles Martel; Description of his Damnation; Fanaticism of his Son Karloman | 54 |
| 741—752. | Ambition and Power of his other Son, Pepin; Power granted by him to the Bishops in the Diets | 56 |
| 752—768. | Pepin crowned by the Pope; Deposition of the Merovingians; Revival of German Ascendancy | 57 |
| | The German Dukes again subjected to Pepin; Conquest of the South of Gaul | 59 |
| | Astolfo King of the Lombards conquers the Exarchate, and menaces Rome; the Pope has recourse to Pepin | 60 |
| 768. | Death of Pepin; Charlemagne begins the Work of civilising Europe | 61 |
| | Errors and Crimes of his Youth, before his Mind was enlightened | 62 |
| | Education of Charlemagne; his Learning and Accomplishments | 64 |
| | Different Races of Men who inhabited Gaul and Germany | 65 |
| | Neighbours of Charlemagne; he makes War on all in turn successfully | 66 |
| 773—774. | Conquest of Desiderio King of Lombardy | 68 |
| | Wars against the Saxons; Dangers with which they threatened France in the succeeding Generation | 69 |
| | Obstinacy of the Struggle; Resistance of Wedekind, one of the Kings of Westphalia | 71 |
| | Yearly Expeditions; Massacre of the Saxons at Verden in 782 | 71 |
| | Three successive Wars against the Saxons; Civilisation introduced among them by Charlemagne | 73 |


## CHAP. XVII.

CHARLEMAGNE EMPEROR. — A. D. 800—814.


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Last Conquests of Charlemagne provoked by the mutual Denunciations of his Neighbours | 75 |
| 800. | Relation of Charles to the two Popes, Adrian and Leo III. | 77 |

| A.D. | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| | Dec. 25th. — Coronation of Charlemagne by Leo III. as Roman Emperor | 78 |
| | Charles puts himself at the Head of Civilisation; Reforms in the Schools; Musical Reforms | 78 |
| | Architecture; Useful Arts; Agriculture; Royal Cities | 80 |
| | The Accumulation of Wealth causes the Increase of the Number of Slaves | 82 |
| | Ruin of the free Proprietors of Land by the Terms of Military Service | 83 |
| | Imperial Deputies of Charlemagne; Collection of barbaric Laws still in force | 84 |
| | The Empire enfeebled by its very Prosperity; its Relations with the Greek Empire and the Khaliphate | 86 |
| 717—780. | Glorious Reigns of the three Isaurian or Iconoclast Emperors | 86 |
| 780. | The Empress Irene re-establishes the Worship of Images; Images worshipped in the East; Relics in the West | 88 |
| | Worship of Images rejected by the Council of Frankfurt; Expedient of the Pope to put an end to the Dispute | 89 |
| 797. | Irene puts to death her Son Constantine V., and reigns alone | 91 |
| | Charlemagne delivered from all Fear of the Saracens; Division of their Empire | 92 |
| 750. | The Abbassides succeed the Ommiades in the East; Khaliphate of Corduba in the West | 93 |
| | Love of the Abbassides for Letters; Embassy of Harun al Rashid to Charlemagne | 94 |
| | Charlemagne partitions Europe among his Sons; Beauty and Frailty of his Daughters | 95 |
| | Death of his eldest Son and Daughter | 96 |
| | Louis proclaimed Emperor | 97 |
| | Death of Charlemagne, January 28th, A. D. 814 | 98 |


## CHAP. XVIII.

### LOUIS LE DÉBONNAIRE. — A. D. 814—840.


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Louis le Débonnaire (the Good-natured, or the Pious: his superstitious Devotion; his Weakness; Sufferings and Oppressions from which he delivers the People; Disorders of the Palace of Aix-la-Chapelle | 99 |
| | The Franks still courted by all the surrounding Nations; Louis's Irresolution | 102 |
| 817. | Revolt of Bernhard King of Italy; his Punishment (A. D. 819); Judith, second Wife of Louis | 103 |
| 822. | Public Penance of Louis; Contempt excited by it; Suspicions against Judith | 105 |
| | Universal Discontent and Disorder; Trade in Frank Slaves with the Musulmans | 106 |
| 826. | Baptism of the Danish King Heriolt (Harold); Invasions of the Normans; War of the Britons and Gascons | 108 |

| A. D. | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| | Alfonso the Chaste, Bernardo del Carpio, and Abderahman; rapid Succession of the Popes | 109 |
| | Power of the Dukes of Benevento; Republic of Venice; the Slavonic tribes at War with the Empire | 110 |
| | New Power of the Bulgarians; Crete and Sicily conquered by the Musulmans | 112 |
| | Succession of the Iconoclast Emperors in Greece | 113 |
| 820. | Michael the Stammerer transferred from a Prison to the Throne | 114 |
| 842. | Theophilus, on his Death-bed, causes the Head of his Brother-in-law and Friend to be brought to him | 115 |
| 830. | Louis compelled by his Sons to renounce his Powers, and to confine his Wife Judith in a Convent | 116 |
| | Jealousy between the Germans and the Gauls, who assume the Name of Franks or French | 117 |
| 833. | Louis, restored to Power by his German Subjects, again excites universal Discontent | 118 |
| 833. | June 24th.—Louis abandoned by all his Followers on the Lügenfeld (*field of a lie*); his public Penance | 120 |
| 834. | Lothaire deserted in his Turn in favour of Louis; disgraceful Civil Wars | 121 |
| 838. | Death of Pepin; new Partition of the Monarchy; Insults of neighbouring Nations | 122 |
| 840. | June 20th.—Death of Louis le Débonnaire | 123 |


## CHAP. XIX.

### THE SONS OF LOUIS LE DÉBONNAIRE. — A. D. 840—869.


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Epoch of the Partition of Europe into a great Number of Monarchies | 125 |
| | Dissolution of the Empire, caused in great Part by the Incapacity of its Chiefs | 127 |
| | Louis le Débonnaire had divided the Empire among his four Sons, but had shaken their Claims | 128 |
| | War breaks out among the four Brothers; the Romans try to throw off the Yoke of the Germans | 129 |
| 841. | June 25th. — Great Battle of Fontenai, between the four Brothers; Number of Dead | 131 |
| 843. | August. — Partition of the Empire; Independence of Italy, France, and Germany | 132 |
| | Ravages of the Northmen, who penetrate into the Interior along the Courses of the Rivers | 134 |
| 845. | March 28th. — The Northmen enter Paris; Charles the Bald makes no Attempt to defend his Capital | 135 |
| | Greatness of Hastings, an Adventurer, who has become Chief of the Northmen; the Saracens threaten Rome | 135 |
| | All the great Cities pillaged in turn; the Princes call in the Assistance of the Enemies of their Faith | 136 |

| A. D. | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| | The Northmen remain without Fear in the Middle of France; universal Cowardice | 137 |
| | The Cowardice of the Nobles in the midst of an enslaved Population, avowed by all cotemporary Writers | 138 |
| | Growth of the Wealth of the Clergy; Extinction of noble Families | 141 |
| | Ambition of the Priests; they utterly destroy the little remaining Courage of their Vassals | 142 |
| | Fresh Civil Wars; each of the Sons of Louis partitions his Kingdom among his Children | 144 |
| | Jurisdiction assumed by the Priests over Kings, with relation to Marriage | 145 |
| | Lothaire II. and his two Wives; Judgments pronounced upon them by the Church | 145 |
| 869. | Lothaire II. perishes with his Army by the Judgment of God, after receiving the Communion from the Hands of the Pope | 147 |


DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE EAST. — END OF THE NINTH CENTURY.


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Last struggles of the Carlovingian Race in the last Years of the Ninth Century | 150 |
| | Ignominious Reign of Charles the Bald, who makes War only on his Relations | 152 |
| | Partition of the States of Lothaire and of Louis the Germanic, Son of Charles the Bald | 153 |
| 875. | Charles the Bald Emperor; the Saracens menace Rome; the Northmen Masters of France | 154 |
| 880 | Charles the Bald flies before Karloman, and dies on Mont Cenis | 156 |
| | Charles the Fat unites Italy to Germany and to Lorraine; Louis the Stammerer in France | 157 |
| 877. | The Countships rendered hereditary; Louis the Stammerer subject to the Aristocracy | 159 |
| 879. | The Sons of Louis the Stammerer crowned at Ferrières; Boson proclaimed King at Mantaille | 160 |
| | Death of Louis III. and Karloman, Sons of Louis the Stammerer | 162 |
| 882—884. | Charles the Fat, sole Survivor, unites the whole Empire; he suffers the Northmen to besiege Paris | 163 |
| 888. | Deposition of Charles the Fat; Seven or Eight Kings chosen by provincial Diets | 164 |
| | Universal Want of Histories at this Period; it is, nevertheless, the Age of Revival | 166 |
| | Abject Humiliation of the Empire during the whole of the Ninth Century | 167 |

| | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| A. D. | The Rights of Property abusively exercised over Slaves had destroyed the Population | 168 |
| | Subjection and Decline of Cities; Nothing remaining in France but Convents and Forests | 169 |
| | The Smallness of States compels the Sovereigns of them to employ greater Prudence | 170 |
| | The new Lords of the Soil want Soldiers, and consequently encourage Population | 172 |
| | Rapid Increase of Population in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries | 173 |


## CHAP. XXI.

### ENGLAND TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF ALFRED THE GREAT. — A. D. 449—900.


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | From the Time of the Recall of the Legions, Britain, severed from the Rest of the World, is forgotten | 175 |
| | Its States, at once small and barbarous, can excite no lively Interest | 176 |
| | Struggle between the ancient British Inhabitants and the Picts and Scots | 178 |
| 449. | The British Prince Vortigern introduces the Saxon Pirates; their War with the Britons | 179 |
| 600. | After, 150 Years of War, the Island shared by three Races: the Saxon Heptarchy; the Cymri; the Gael | 180 |
| | The Cymri in Wales remain Christians; they colonise Ireland; Conversion of the Scottish Gael | 181 |
| | Slave Trade in England; Gregory the Great converts the Saxons in the sixth Century | 183 |
| 827. | In the Heptarchy four Saxon and three Anglian Kingdoms; Power of Egbert | 184 |
| 833. | Invasions of the Normans and Danes, more formidable since the Union of the Island | 185 |
| 838—857. | Resemblance between Ethelwolf and Louis le Débonnaire; Calamities of England | 186 |
| | The Danes ravage France; determine to conquer England; the Sons of Regner Lodbrog | 187 |
| 872. | The Danes occupy England, as far south as the Thames; Beginning of Alfred's Reign | 189 |
| 877. | The Danes become Masters of Wessex; Alfred obliged to conceal himself at Æthelingey | 192 |
| | Noble Character of Alfred; he waits till his People be tired of the Danish Yoke | 192 |
| 880. | The Danes abandon England to attack France; Navy of Alfred | 195 |
| 893. | Alfred Master of all England; his Parliament, Witenagemote; Laws of Alfred; Division of England; System of mutual Checks and Securities; Alfred renews his Studies | 197 |
| 900. | His Death | 199 |

## CHAP. XXII.

EUROPE AND ASIA DURING THE REIGNS OF CHARLES THE SIMPLE, OF BERENGER, AND OF HENRY THE FOWLER. — A. D. 900—936.


| A. D. | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| | Complete Dissolution of the Bonds of Society, both in the East and West | 201 |
| | Every Year deprives the Khaliphs of some of their Provinces | 203 |
| 936. | The Emir al Omara | 204 |
| 867—959 | The Macedonian Dynasty at Constantinople; Talents of Basil; his Laws; the Basilica; the Learning of his Son Leo; of his Grandson Constantine | 204 |
| 888—915 | Independence of the Italian Dukes; numerous Candidates for the Empire | 207 |
| 915—924 | Reign and Talents of Berenger; his Successors on the Throne of Italy | 208 |
| 898—929 | Charles the Simple of France; his Incapacity; the Dukes no longer obey him | 10 |
| | His Retreat to Laon; his Deposition; Power of Robert Duke of France | 211 |
| | Establishment of the Normans in Neustria; Adventures and Greatness of Rollo | 213 |
| 911. | The Normans are converted, and receive Normandy to be held by them as a Fief | 215 |
| 919 | Baptism of Rollo; regular Establishment of the Feudal System in Normandy | 216 |
| | Rollo puts his Shores in a State to resist future Invasions | 217 |
| | The Normans adopt the Romanz-French Language, which they improve | 217 |
| | Causes which compel the Normans to abandon their System of Pillage | 218 |
| | The same Causes act upon the Saracens and Hungarians | 219 |
| | The Saracens at Frassineto and at St. Maurice, in 894; arrival of the Hungarians in Europe | 220 |
| | The Ravages committed in Germany by the Hungarians during the Reign of Louis IV | 221 |
| 919—936 | Germany under the Government of a great Prince, Henry the Fowler | 224 |
| | The Hungarians defeated on all sides, in Italy, in France, in Germany | 2[illegible] |


## CHAP. XXIII.

### END OF THE TENTH CENTURY.


The Defeat of the Hungarians, the last Event which Source of common Joy to all Europe

A. D. Page

936—973. Reign of the great Otho; he does not at first act according to the Dictates of Virtue - - - - 227
Otho I. re-constitutes the Empire by every where promoting the Growth of provincial Authorities - - 228
Influence possessed by Otho over the last of the Carlovingians in France, Louis IV., and Lothaire - - 230
Otho, unaided by Combat or Victory, unites Italy to Germany - - - - - - - 231
Otho protects the oppressed Inhabitants of Italy, and receives from their Hands the imperial Crown - - 232
Annihilation of the royal Power in France and Burgundy - 234
Kings afford no Protection either to the Nobility, the Clergy, or the People; they pass their Lives in Convents - 235
Legislation is suspended; the Benefices of the Clergy are usurped by secular Nobles - - - - 236
Ruin of the Cities every where save in Italy; Commerce only carried on by travelling Merchants - - - 238
All the mechanical Trades exercised by Serfs; Origin of small Towns - - - - - - 239
No City in the North laid Claim to any Freedom or Privilege; Silence of History - - - - - 240
954—986. Rivalry in France between Lothaire and his Cousin, the Count of Paris - - - - - - 241
Lothaire and his Son, Louis V., the Objects of universal Contempt; their Death - - - - - 242
987. July 3.—Usurpation of Hugh Capet, Count of Paris, who had previously done nothing to signalise himself - - 244
973—983. Otho II. in Germany and Italy; his War with the Greeks - 245
980. He is made Prisoner, but escapes by swimming from a Greek Galley - - - - - - - 246
983—1002. Reign of Otho III.; his Contest with Crescentius; End of the House of Saxony - - - - - 247
Dissolution of all the old Monarchies; the Work of Destruction is accomplished - - - - - 248

## CHAP. XXIV

### THE YEAR 1000.

Unity necessary to the understanding of any Subject; Want of all real Unity in History - - - - 250
The Destruction of ancient Civilisation, the Subject of this History - - - - - - - 252
Recapitulation of the Revolutions which brought about this Result; Fall of the Empire - - - - - 253
The Goths and the Franks, the Arabs, and the Carlovingian Empire - - - - - - - 254
The Year 1000 regarded as the appointed Time of the End of the World - - - - - - 255

Page

Historians are silent, because they did not look forward to any Posterity - - - - - - 255

In the Year 1000, the Spirit of Erudition distinguishes the Greeks; the Spirit of Liberty, the Italians; the Spirit of Chivalry, the Franks - - - - - - 257

The Greeks, preserving an immense Store of Learning, lose all creative Power - - - - - 258

The Existence of Books is not sufficient to secure the Exercise of the Mind - - - - - 258

The Greeks, perfectly skilled in their own Antiquities, made no practical Application of them - - - - 259

The Italians had forgotten their ancient Literature, but had Soul enough to create a new one - - - - 262

All the Towns of Italy form themselves into Republics; their rapid Progress - - - - - 264

Development of every Virtue and every Talent effected by Liberty - - - - - - 264

The Chivalry of the Franks was the Liberty of the Nobles alone - - - - - - 265

The Nobles, strong in their Castles and their Armour, are sensible of their Independence - - - 266

The Feudal System; its Virtues, its Portion of Liberty, its Harshness - - - - - 267

Difference of those Governments whose Springs of Action are respectively Virtue or Egotism - - - 270

The Principle of Utility is the ultimate Test of Virtue, but not its practical Guide - - - - 271

The common Good of all has been called Country, and under that Name has excited Self-devotion - - 271

On the Ruins of the ancient World arise new Countries, and new Virtues - - - - - 272

# PREFACE.

THE longest, the most universal, the most important of all the convulsions to which the human race has been exposed, is that which destroyed the whole fabric of ancient civilisation, and prepared the elements out of which the structure of modern social life is composed.

It found men at the highest point of perfection which they had as yet attained to, whether in the career of social organisation and of legislation, or in those of philosophy, literature, or art; and hurled them down by reiterated shocks, each more terrific than the last, into the deepest night of barbarism. Its influence embraced all that portion of the human race which had any consciousness of its present condition, any power of preserving the memory of its past existence; consequently, all that portion, whose thoughts have come down to us by means of written records. Dating its commencement from the reign of the Antonines,—the period at which the human race seemed to have reached its highest point of prosperity,—and tracing its progress, through each succeeding shock, to the almost total dissolution of all the old-established associations of men, and to the re-construction of

society from its very foundations, this revolution continued through at least eight centuries.

The Roman empire, which then extended over the whole of what was believed to be the habitable earth, was invaded, ravaged, depopulated, dismembered, by the various tribes of barbarians who rushed in upon all its borders. The conquering nations which had possessed themselves of its ruins, made repeated attempts to found monarchies upon its antique soil. All, after two or three generations, vanished; their imperfect and barbaric institutions were insufficient to the preservation of national life. Two great men arose, — Mohammed in the East, Charlemagne in the West, — each of whom tried to put himself at the head of a new order of society. Each of them founded an empire, which, for a time, rivalled the ancient power of Rome. But the moment of re-organisation was not yet come. The throne of the Khaliphs, the empire of the Carlovingians, soon crumbled into dust. The nations of the earth then seemed in a state of general dissolution; the various races of men were intermingled; a violent and short-lived power was seized by kings, dukes, emirs, who were not chiefs of the people, but accidental masters of a fraction of territory whose boundaries were marked by chance alone.

No man could feel that he was bound to any land, as a son to his mother; no man could feel himself the lawful subject of any government; society could no longer afford protection to its members, and could no longer claim their allegiance in return.

At length the moment arrived, in which the proprietors of land built themselves here and there

strong holds, in which cities surrounded themselves with walls, in which all men armed for their own defence. Each individual was compelled to take a share of the government into his own hands, and thus to begin society anew from its very elements.

Such was the tremendous revolution which took place between the third and the tenth centuries of our era; and yet, from its very universality and duration, it is impossible to find one common name under which to designate it.

If we would grasp one comprehensive idea of this gigantic catastrophe, we must, so to speak, collect its several incidents into one focus; we must reject all those circumstances which dissipate the attention; we must confine ourselves to the grand movements of each people and of each age; we must show the co-operation of the barbarian conquerors, who were themselves unconscious that they acted in concert; we must trace the moral history of the world, regardless of the details of wars and of crimes; we must seek, in an enlightened appreciation of causes, that unity of design which it were impossible to find in a scene so full of rapid and varied movement. The earlier half of the middle ages appears to our eyes like a chaos; but this chaos conceals beneath its ruins most important subjects for reflection.

After having devoted many years to the study of the revival of European civilisation, it appeared to me that a work presenting to the reader the prominent features of this grand overthrow of ancient culture, collected into one picture, would not be without its advantages. Fifteen years have elapsed since I

attempted to trace the course of this terrible revolution in a series of lectures, pronounced before a small audience at Geneva. Encouraged by the interest they appeared to excite, I preserved this vast picture, under the idea that, at some future day, I might exhibit it in one of the capitals of the world of letters. Advancing years warn me no longer to reckon on the possibility of oral instruction. Having, moreover, already laid before the public a view of the history of the Italian republics, compressed into one of the small volumes of this series, I thought that it might be useful to offer this also to a far more numerous class of readers than voluminous works can hope to obtain; and for this purpose to lay before them the results only of more extensive researches.

I then undertook to compress within the limits of these volumes, the earlier portion of the history of the Middle Ages: that is, the history of the fall of the Roman empire; of the invasions of the barbarians, and their establishment among its ruins. It is more than the history of the destruction of ancient civilisation, or of the first attempts at the reconstruction of society according to its modern forms; —it is the history of the sufferings of the human race, from the third century of the Christian era, to the close of the tenth.

In these volumes, even more than in the one which preceded them, I have been compelled to pass rapidly over events, and to dwell only on results; to abstain from all critical discussion, from all reference to authorities.

I venture to indulge the hope, that among the

readers of these volumes, some will be found, who will examine the labours by which I prepared myself for the composition of this summary. They will see, more especially in the early volumes of the history of the French, that facts and results, which may appear to be lightly asserted or hastily deduced here, have been collected and matured by a long course of conscientious research.

---

NOTE.—*The above Preface was intended to appear in the first volume, but was mislaid or lost when the original copy was sent; a fact of which the author was not aware till he received the first volume.*

# HISTORY

OF THE

# FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

## CHAPTER XIV.

IGNORANCE OR INDIFFERENCE OF NEIGHBOURING NATIONS TO THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF ISLAMISM. — ITS RAPID SPREAD UNDER MOHAMMED'S IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS. — UNION OF THE MILITARY AND THE MONASTIC CHARACTER IN THE SARACENIC WARRIORS. — SINGULAR FRUGALITY OF THE GOVERNMENT. — ABUBEKR ELECTED UNDER THE TITLE OF KHALIPH, OR LIEUTENANT OF THE PROPHET. — HIS EXTREME FRUGALITY AND SIMPLICITY. — HIS DEATH. — HE APPOINTS OMAR HIS SUCCESSOR. — CHARACTER OF OMAR. — CONQUESTS OF THE MUSULMANS DURING THE REIGNS OF ABUBEKR AND OMAR. — DEFEAT OF THE KING OF PERSIA AND OF THE GREEK EMPEROR. — CONQUEST OF SYRIA, PERSIA, AND EGYPT. — INSTRUCTIONS OF ABUBEKR TO THE GENERALS. — STATE OF THE ASIATIC PROVINCES OF THE GREEK EMPIRE, AND OF PERSIA — THREEFOLD ALTERNATIVE OFFERED BY THE MOHAMMEDAN CONQUERORS BEFORE GIVING BATTLE. — SUMMONS OF ABU OBEIDAH TO THE CITY OF JERUSALEM. — SUCCESSES OF KHALED IN PERSIA. — HIS RECALL TO SYRIA. — SIEGE OF BOSRA. — TREACHERY OF ROMANUS. — DESERTIONS TO THE MUSULMAN ARMY. — SIEGE OF DAMASCUS. — FATE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE DECIDED AT THE BATTLE OF AIZNADIN. — CONTINUED SUCCESSES OF THE ARABS. — SIEGE OF JERUSALEM. — ITS SURRENDER. — ENTRY OF THE KHALIPH. —

SUBMISSION OF ANTIOCH AND ALEPPO. — FLIGHT OF HERACLIUS AND OF HIS SON CONSTANTINE. — DISPERSION OF THE GREEK ARMY. — SUBMISSION OF THE REST OF SYRIA. — DEATH OF ABU OBEIDAH. — DEATH OF KHALED. — CONQUEST OF PERSIA BY THE MUSULMANS. — BATTLE OF CADESIA. — DEATH OF YEZDEGERD AND EXTINCTION OF THE LINE OF THE SASSANIDES. — CONQUEST OF EGYPT BY AMRU. — SIEGE OF MEMPHIS. — SURRENDER OF IT BY THE COPTS. — FOUNDATION OF KAHIRA, OR CAIRO. — SIEGE OF ALEXANDRIA. — ITS EVACUATION BY THE GREEKS. — ITS MAGNIFICENCE. — VIRTUOUS FORBEARANCE OF OMAR. — ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY. — DEATH OF HERACLIUS. — CHANGES IN THE SPIRIT OF THE MUSULMAN ARMY. — ASSASSINATION OF OMAR. — ELECTION OF OTHMAN, SECRETARY OF THE PROPHET. — EXTERNAL SUCCESSES AND INTERNAL DISSENSIONS OF HIS REIGN. — HIS ASSASSINATION. — ALI PROCLAIMED KHALIPH. — OPPOSITION TO HIM. — AYESHA. — BATTLE OF THE CAMEL. — ELECTION OF MOAVIAH IN SYRIA. — CIVIL WAR BETWEEN ALI AND MOAVIAH. — ORIGIN OF THE SECTS OF SHIAHS AND SUNNIS. — MURDER OF ALI. — HIS SON HASSAN ACKNOWLEDGED BY THE SHIAHS. — HASSAN'S ABDICATION IN FAVOUR OF MOAVIAH. — KHALIPHATE MADE HEREDITARY IN MOAVIAH'S FAMILY. — REVOLT AND DEATH OF HOSSEIN. — DESTRUCTION OF THE FAMILY OF THE PROPHET. A. D. 632—680.

For twenty-three years Mohammed had sustained the character of prophet; for ten, that of sovereign and conqueror; and, in the latter years of his life, he had given to his empire an extent far beyond what the hopes of any but a fanatic could possibly have aspired to at the commencement of his career. But his victories, his doctrine, and the revolution he had effected, had been confined within the boundaries of Arabia. Changes of opinion in an illiterate nation, whose language had never been studied by its neighbours, did not seem of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the world. The revolutions of the little republics of the Red Sea had never had the slightest influence over the condition of other countries; and the union of the Arabs of the desert, free as the antelope which bounds over their sands, seemed never likely to be more than transitory.

At Constantinople, at Antioch, and at Alexandria, the birth of Islamism was either wholly unknown, or was thought too insignificant to be feared.

But the revolution, which during the life of Mohammed had been confined to Arabia, made wide and rapid progress during the lives of his earliest disciples and the reigns of his chosen friends. From the death of the prophet, in 632, to that of Ali, his cousin and son-in-law and one of his first adherents, in 661, twelve years were filled with conquests which astound the imagination. During eleven years of weakness and irresolution, the monarchy then seemed to retrograde Lastly, five years of furious civil war terminated in the establishment of a despotism as foreign to the first institutions of Mohammed, as to the manners and the sentiments of the Arabs.

Mohammed had founded his military system entirely on the lively faith of his warriors; on the confidence with which he had inspired them, that the battle-field opened the shortest way to eternal happiness, and on the ardour of the Musulmans for obtaining that new crown of martyrdom, reserved for those who fell by the sword of the infidel. But he had made no change in their armour, nor in their manner of fighting. The troops presented the same appearance which their neighbours had held in constant contempt. The Saracen soldiers were half naked; armed, when on foot, only with a bow and arrows; when on horseback (and these were the more numerous) with a light lance and a sabre, or scimitar. Their horses were indefatigable, unequalled in the world for their docility, as well as for their spirit. But they did not manœuvre in large or regular masses; they knew nothing of those charges of northern cavalry which bear down battalions by their resistless weight. Single-handed warriors advanced in front of the army to signalise themselves by acts of personal prowess, and, after a few lightning strokes of their flashing scimitars, escaped from their enemies by

the swiftness of their steeds, whenever they found themselves inferior in numbers or in armour. Battles were long-continued skirmishes, in which the hostile troops did not engage corps to corps: they frequently lasted several days; and it was not till after their adversaries, exhausted by unusual fatigue, were put to rout, that the Arabs became terrible in pursuit. Mohammed's brothers in arms do not seem to have made any advance in military science; and during the most brilliant period of Saracenic conquest, during the lives of the associates of the prophet, no sort of warlike engine followed the army, and sieges were conducted by them as they are by savages. Soldiers like these, known only as robbers of the desert, had never inspired any serious fears either in the Romans or the Persians, even in the times of the greatest distresses of either empire. Yet these desert-robbers attacked both empires at once, and overthrew both in a few years: their weapons were precisely the same; their souls alone were changed.

The spectacle had never before been exhibited (let us hope that it may never again be witnessed) of a great and entire nation, forgetting the present world, and occupied solely with the world to come, while at the same time it displayed all the worldly qualities; the most consummate policy, the most intrepid bravery, the most indefatigable activity. Never till now had the virtues of the monk been seen united with those of the soldier: sobriety, patience, submission, the strict performance of all duties, however humble, or however sublime, joined to lust of carnage, love of glory, and that enterprising energy of mind so different from the passive courage of the convent. At a later period, in the wars of the crusades, the Christian knights exhibited the same qualities, but on a much more limited scale. If the warlike fanaticism of the knights of Malta had been communicated to a whole people, they also would have conquered the world.

Never had the revenues of a great empire been ad-

ministered with the parsimony of a convent, by a government which cost nothing, which wanted nothing for itself, which scorned all luxury and all pleasure, and which devoted all the gains of war exclusively to the support of war. This government must be the first object of our attention.

Mohammed had not connected any political opinions with his religion; he had not destroyed the freedom of the desert; he had instituted neither aristocratical senate, nor hereditary power, in his own, or in any other, family. The liberty of all, the individual will of each, had been suspended by the power of inspiration. In him the people had thought they obeyed the voice of God, and not any human authority. When he died, no organisation had been given to the empire of the faithful, no hand seemed prepared to gather the inheritance of the prophet. But the same religious enthusiasm still inspired the Musulmans. Their sword, their wealth, and their power, ought, in their eyes, to have no other destination than the extending the knowledge of the true God: the part which each took was indifferent, provided he laboured with all his strength to the same end; and the presidency of the republic seemed to consist in nothing save the presidency of the prayers at the tomb or at the palace of Medina. It was thought that the early friends of the prophet were the most likely to be inspired by his example, and instructed by his familiar conversation; and, consequently, Abubekr, the first believer in Mohammed's mission, and the companion of his flight, was pointed out by Omar and proclaimed by the chiefs assembled around the death-bed of the prophet, under the title of his lieutenant or khaliph.

This title was acknowledged by the cities of Mecca, Medina, and Tayef, and, more especially, by the army of the Faithful; but the Arabs of the desert, who had been allured far more by the hope of plunder than by the revelations of the prophet, already began to desert a cause which they thought a tottering one. The idolaters,

who had been thought converted, were in arms for the restoration of the ancient national faith; and a new prophet, named Moseilama, inspired either by genuine fanaticism, or by the example of Mohammed's success, preached a new religion in Yemen. Abubekr, already feeling the weight of years, thought himself dispensed from performing any other duties of a khaliph than those of public prayer and exhortation, and deputed the valiant Khaled, surnamed 'the Sword of God,' to subdue the rebels who abandoned the faith and attacked the empire of Islamism: his victories restored peace and religious unity to Arabia in a few months.

Abubekr meanwhile had ordered his daughter Ayesha, the widow of Mohammed, to make an inventory of his patrimony, that every Musulman might know whether he had sought to enrich himself by the contributions of the Faithful. He demanded a salary or allowance of three pieces of gold a week for the maintenance of himself, a single black slave, and one camel; at the end of every week he distributed to the poor all that was left out of this humble pension. Abubekr continued for two years at the head of the republic: his time was exclusively spent in prayer, penitence, and the administration of justice, which was marked by equity, and tempered by mildness. At the close of this period the aged friend of the prophet felt his end approaching; and, with the consent of the Faithful, named the intrepid Omar as his successor. "I do not want that place," said Omar. "But the place wants you," replied Abubekr. Omar, having been saluted by the acclamations of the army, was invested with the khaliphate on the 24th of July, A.D. 634.

Omar had given brilliant proofs of valour in the wars of Mohammed; but he considered the dignity of khaliph as putting an end to his military career, and exacting from him an exclusive attention to religious duties. During a reign of ten years he was solely intent on directing the prayers of the Faithful, giving an example

of moderation and justice, of abstinence, and contempt of outward grandeur. His food was barley bread or dates; his drink, water; the dress in which he preached to the people was patched in twelve places. A satrap of Persia, who came to do him homage, found him sleeping on the steps of the mosque at Medina; and yet he had at his disposal funds which had enabled him to grant pensions to all the brothers in arms of the prophet. All those who had fought at the battle of Bedr had five thousand pieces of gold a year; all who had served under Mohammed had, at least, three thousand; and all the soldiers who had distinguished themselves under Abubekr enjoyed some reward.

It was during the reigns of Abubekr and Omar that the Musulmans achieved the most wonderful conquests. During these twelve years they attacked, at the same time, the two rivals, Yezdegerd, grandson of Chosroes, king of Persia, and Heraclius, the Roman emperor. They subjugated Syria, Persia, and Egypt; they reduced to obedience thirty-six thousand cities, towns, or castles; they destroyed four thousand temples or churches, and they built fourteen hundred mosques dedicated to the religion of Mohammed. These conquests were achieved by lieutenants appointed by the khaliph. Among them, Khaled, the Sword of God; Amru, the conqueror of Egypt; Abu Obeidah, the protector as well as the conqueror of Syria, peculiarly distinguished themselves: but all jealousy and personal ambition were so entirely forgotten by men whose sole object was the triumph and ascendancy of Islamism, that they descended in turn from the highest commands to the most subaltern posts; and a private soldier or an enfranchised slave was set over the heads of veteran warriors, without exciting a murmur, or the least inclination to resistance.

The comrades of Mohammed, being utterly ignorant of geography; of the interests, the strength, the policy, and the language of the neighbouring nations whom they attacked; had no idea of laying the plan of a cam-

paign; of strengthening themselves by alliances, or of establishing secret correspondences in the countries they were about to invade. The instructions which they gave to the commanders of armies were general and simple; those of Abubekr to the two commanders of the army of Syria, Abu Obeidah and Khaled, have come down to us. They will give some notion of the spirit which animated the early Musulmans.

"Remember," said he, "that you are always in the presence of God; always at the point of death; always in expectation of judgment; always in hope of paradise: avoid, then, injustice and oppression; consult with your brethren, and study to preserve the love and the confidence of your troops. When you fight the battles of the Lord, bear yourselves like men, and turn not your backs upon the enemy. Let your victories never be sullied by the blood of women or of children. Destroy not the palm trees, neither burn the standing corn, nor cut down fruit-bearing trees. Do no damage to the herds and flocks, nor kill any beasts but such as are necessary for your sustenance. Whatsoever treaty you make, be faithful to it, and let your deeds be according to your words. As you advance into the enemy's country, you will find religious persons who live retired in monasteries, to the end that they may serve God after their manner. You shall not slay them, nor destroy their monasteries. But you will find, also, another sort of men, who belong to the synagogue of Satan, and who have the crown of their heads shaven. To such give no quarter, unless they become Mohammedans, or consent to pay tribute."

I know not what was the distinction Abubekr thus intended to establish between the two sorts of monks and priests. But the Musulmans were now, for the first time, about to meet the Christians face to face; and Abubekr, who knew the latter only by report, probably acted in obedience to some prejudice of which we are ignorant. We do not find that, when the Musulmans

had actually entered the various countries of Christendom as invaders, they did, in fact, refuse to give quarter to tonsured priests.

The Asiatic provinces of the Greek empire, and Persia, alternately devastated during the wars of Chosroes and of Heraclius in the seventh century, underwent a change in their organisation and in their population, the causes and the mode of which it is impossible for us to come at any just understanding of, on the very meagre and inadequate reports of ancient historians. The fortresses were dismantled; confidence in the strength of the frontiers was gone; the administration was disorganised, and obedience to government was irregular and imperfect. But want, the suffering under a foreign yoke, and probably the flight or the abduction of a great number of slaves, had forced the provincials to act with a little more courage and manliness; to take a more active share in their own affairs; to withdraw less from the toils and perils of war.

It seems that they were once more become soldiers, although very bad soldiers. As we approach the conclusion of the reign of Heraclius, we begin once more to find mention of armies proportioned to the extent of his empire; of armies of a hundred thousand men, though their valour and discipline, indeed, were of a kind which lead us to suppose that they were composed exclusively of provincial and Asiatic militia. The names of the officers, which are incidentally mentioned, are not Greek, but Syrian; the towns seem to recover an independent existence; their own citizens roused themselves in their defence; their own magistrates directed all their affairs; and the interests of the empire are forgotten in the interests of the province. It was not in a country in which all vital energy was annihilated by the long and deadly presence of despotism, but in one in which that energy had lost all its ordinary action from the efforts of anarchy and of foreign occupation, that the Musulman generals had to combat.

Hence it doubtless happens, that after victory they invariably found recruits for their own armies from the ranks of those of their enemies.

The Musulmans did not attack the Persians or the Syrians by surprise. They always prefaced the battle by a summons, in which they gave their enemies the threefold choice; either to become converts to Islamism, and in that case to share all the honours, enjoyments, rights, and privileges of true believers; or to submit on condition of paying tribute; or, lastly, to try the fortune of war. We have the summons addressed to the city of Jerusalem by Abu Obeidah. It is highly characteristic: —

"Salvation and happiness to whomsoever followeth the straight path. We require you to testify that God is the true God, and that Mohammed is his prophet. If you refuse to do this, promise to pay tribute, and submit yourselves immediately to us. Otherwise I shall bring against you men who find more pleasure in death, than you find in drinking wine and in eating the flesh of swine; and I shall not depart from you till it shall have pleased God to enable me to destroy those among you who fight against me, and to reduce your children to slavery."

In the course of one year, the very year of the death of Mohammed (A. D. 632), Abubekr sent two armies, the one against Persia, the other against Syria. The former, conducted by Khaled, advanced as far as the banks of the Euphrates, and conquered the cities of Anbar and of Hira, near the ruins of Babylon. The kingdom of Persia was at that time torn by intestine wars between the successors of Chosroes IV. But the Musulmans, instead of pushing their conquests in that direction, recalled Khaled, and sent him to join Abu Obeidah, who commanded the second army in Syria. This general, after proposing to the Romans an alternative which they scarcely understood, — to acknowledge the true God and his prophet, or to pay a

tribute, — had attacked Bosra, one of the fortified cities which covered Syria on the Arabian frontier. The Syrians would hardly believe the attack with which they were menaced to be much more formidable than those incursions of wandering bands of Arabs of the desert, to which they were accustomed. Their governor, Romanus, had formed a different judgment: he urged his countrymen to surrender; and when they, in their indignation, deprived him of the command, he treacherously introduced the Arabs by night into the fortress. On the following day, in the presence of his astonished fellow-citizens, he made a public profession of his new faith in the one God and in Mohammed his prophet. This was the beginning of those desertions which inflicted a deadly blow upon the empire. All the discontented; all those whose ambition or cupidity outran their advancement or their fortune; all who had any secret injury to avenge, were sure to be received with open arms in the ranks of the victors, and to share, according to their several merits, either the equality which reigned among the soldiers, or the offices of command and the splendid rewards which awaited their chiefs. Even in those provinces where the Romans had never been able to levy a single cohort, the Musulman army was recruited by fugitives with a rapidity, a facility, which abundantly proves that it is the government, and not the climate, which gives or which destroys courage.

The surrender of Bosra was quickly followed by the attack on Damascus, one of the most flourishing cities of Syria, and peculiarly favoured as to situation; although the history of the empire, hitherto, scarcely contains a mention of its existence. But the siege of Damascus awakened the attention of Heraclius, who had been returned about four years from his successful wars in Persia, and had relapsed into that luxurious indolence whence we saw him arouse himself for a short time in so surprising a manner. He collected an army, which the Arabs affirm to have been seventy

thousand strong; but he did not put himself at its head. His lieutenants endeavoured in vain to raise the siege of Damascus; and in the disastrous battle of Aiznadin, on the 13th of July, A. D. 633, the fate of the Roman empire in Asia was decided; Heraclius never recovered a defeat in which his army is said to have lost fifty thousand men.

The taking of Damascus, after a siege which lasted through a year; the fall of Emessa, and of Heliopolis, or Balbec; the new victory gained over the Greeks on the banks of the Hieromax, or Yermuk, in November, 636, were followed by the attack on Jerusalem, where the rival religions seemed to be brought into more immediate hostility; for the whole of Christendom had their eyes turned towards the holy city, and regarded the spot, sanctified by the life and sufferings of Christ, and, above all, by the Holy Sepulchre, as the outward pledges of the triumph of his religion. During a siege of four months, the religious enthusiasm of the besieged kept pace with that of the assailants; the walls were thickly planted with crosses, banners blessed by the priests, and miraculous images. But all this zeal was vain and impotent. Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, who directed the efforts of the besieged, was constrained to offer to capitulate. He, however, refused to open the gates of the city until the khaliph Omar, the commander of the Faithful, should come in person to receive so precious a deposit, and to guarantee the capitulation by his word. Jerusalem, equally sacred in the eyes of Musulmans as in those of Christians, appeared to the veteran companions of Mohammed to be a fit object, to the khaliph, of a pious pilgrimage. He set out: the same camel which bore the sovereign of Arabia and a great part of Syria and Persia was also laden with all his baggage; namely, a sack of wheat, a basket of dates, a wooden bowl, and a skin of water. When he came in sight of Jerusalem, the khaliph exclaimed, "God and victorious Lord, grant us a victory unstained with blood!" His attendants

pitched his tent of camel's hair cloth; he sat down on the earth; and there he signed the capitulation by which he promised to leave the Christians not only the full enjoyment of liberty of conscience, but the undisputed possession of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Having completed this act, he entered the city without precaution and without fear, discoursing with the patriarch by the way. He declined the invitation of the latter to offer up his devotions in the church of the Christians, lest his compliance might be quoted as a precedent by his successors, who might resort thither to pray, and thus invade the exclusive property in the temple which he had just guaranteed to the Christians. He laid the foundation of a magnificent mosque on the ruins of the temple of Solomon; and at the expiration of ten days he returned in the same simple and unostentatious manner to Medina, where he passed the remainder of his life in offering up his devotions at the tomb of the prophet.

The submission of Jerusalem to the Musulman arms is dated about the year 637, that of Antioch and of Aleppo during the campaign of 638. At the same time Heraclius, who had not appeared at the head of the army, secretly fled from a province which he did not dare to defend, and which he had no hope of revisiting. Escaping by a feint from his courtiers and his soldiers, he embarked with a few friends for Constantinople. His eldest son Constantine, who commanded at Cæsarea, fled as soon as he heard of the emperor's departure; and the army under his command dispersed, or went over to the ranks of the enemy. Tyre and Tripoli were given up to the Arabs by treachery, and the remaining cities of Syria opened their gates by capitulation. Abu Obeidah, who dreaded for the victors the luxurious delights of Antioch, would not permit his soldiers to remain there more than three days; but the aged khaliph, who was austere to himself alone, regretted that the Musulmans had not enjoyed a little more of the fruits of their victories. "God has not forbidden," he wrote

to his general, "the use of the good things of this world to true believers and those who practise good works: you ought, therefore, to have granted them longer repose, and have allowed them to partake of the enjoyments the country offers. Every Saracen who has not a family in Arabia is at liberty to marry in Syria; and all are permitted to buy as many female slaves as they may need."

A contagious disease, which attacked the Musulmans shortly after the conquest of Syria, disabled them from taking advantage of the khaliph's indulgence. By this malady they lost twenty-five thousand effective troops; and among them their leader, Abu Obeidah. The valiant warrior who had seconded him, and who in all moments of difficulty and danger assumed the command, which he afterwards surrendered back to his chief, Khaled, 'the Sword of God,' died three years later at Emessa.

The conquest of Persia, which Khaled had commenced, had been followed up by other Saracen generals. Yezdegerd, grandson of Chosroes, who had ascended the throne in 632, and whose reign has been rendered famous, not for any personal merit he displayed, but from its relation to an astronomical cycle, was attacked by an army of thirty thousand Musulmans. The battle of Cadesia, a place sixty leagues from Bagdad, decided the fate of the Persian monarchy. (A. D. 636.) It lasted three whole days, and the Saracens lost seven thousand five hundred men: but the Persian army was annihilated, the standard of the monarchy was carried off; the fertile province of Assyria, or Irak, was conquered, and the possession of it guaranteed by the foundation of Basra, or, as Europeans called it, Bussora, on the Euphrates, below its junction with the Tigris, twelve leagues from the sea. Seyd, general of the Musulmans, afterwards advanced beyond the Tigris, in the month of March, 637. He entered Madain, or Ctesiphon, the capital of Persia, by assault; and the accumulated treasures of ages were abandoned to the Musulman plunderers. The conquerors, dis-

satisfied with the site of the ancient capital, founded a new one, to which they gave the name of Kufah, on the right bank of the Euphrates. Yezdegerd, however, who had taken refuge in the mountains, kept together for some time the wrecks of the Persian empire; but, after a series of defeats, just as he was in the act of entreating a miller to transport him in his boat across a river on the last frontier of his kingdom, he was overtaken by some Musulman horsemen, and slain, A. D. 651, the nineteenth year of his disastrous reign. With him expired the second Persian dynasty, that of the Sassanides.

Syria and Persia had been but feebly defended by the Christians and the Magi. Egypt was voluntarily given up by the Copts, who, severed from the dominant church by the dispute concerning the two natures and the two wills of Christ, preferred the yoke of the Musulmans to the persecution of the orthodox. Long before their surrender, even during the lifetime of Mohammed, they had entered into a negotiation with the Arabs, their neighbours; but the latter, full of the ideas they had imbibed from their assiduous study of the books of the Old Testament, estimated the glory and power of Egypt rather by the grandeur ascribed to the Pharaohs, than by their own eyes. Omar, urged by the valiant Amru, one of the warriors who had contributed the most powerfully to the conquest of Syria, had given his consent to the invasion of Egypt. He, however, quickly repented the having sanctioned so daring an enterprise, and despatched a courier after Amru, who was advancing across the desert with no more than four thousand soldiers, ordering him to retrace his steps, if he was still within the confines of Syria; but to regard the die as cast, and boldly to pursue his way, if he had already crossed the frontiers of Egypt. Amru, distrusting the irresolution of his sovereign, would not open the letter until he was actually on the enemy's soil. He then assembled a council of war, and took all the chiefs to witness that

the orders of the khaliph, no less than those of Heaven, bound him to continue his march. It was in the month of June, 638; and Pelusium, which surrendered after a month's siege, opened to the Saracens the entrance to the country.

The Romans had transported the seat of government in Egypt to Alexandria; and Memphis, the ancient capital, not far from the Pyramids, had sunk to the rank of a secondary city; nevertheless, its population was still very considerable, and, as the Greeks inhabited Alexandria by preference, Memphis had remained almost exclusively an Egyptian or Coptic city. It was before this city that Amru appeared in the summer of 638, or rather before the suburb of Babylon, or Mizrah, which was on the right bank of the river and on the Arab side; while the ancient Memphis, as well as the Pyramids, were on the left or Libyan side. The siege was protracted through seven months, during which period Amru renewed his negotiations with the Coptic Monothelites and their general Mokawkas. A tribute of two pieces of gold for every man above the age of sixteen was the price paid for entire liberty of conscience. Benjamin, the patriarch of the Jacobites, came forth out of the desert, to pay homage to the conqueror; throughout the whole province to the south of Memphis the Copts took arms, attacked the Greeks and their clergy, massacred a great number of them, and put the remainder to flight. The antique Memphis at length opened her gates; but the victorious Saracens preferred the suburb of Mizrah as a residence, on account of its greater proximity to their own country. They gave it the name of Kahira *, or the city of victory. The population insensibly passed over from the left to the right bank of the river, for the sake of being near the caravans which arrived from the desert; and the ancient city of Sesostris was soon little more than a city of tombs.

* The Italians, from whom we adopted it, corrupted this to Cairo.—*Transl.*

The conquest of Egypt could be secured only by that of the Delta, whither all the fugitive Greeks from the valley of the Nile had retired; and by that of Alexandria, the second city of the world for population and for wealth.

The port of this metropolis, open to the Greek navy, might receive constant reinforcements, and introduce hostile armies into the heart of the country; whilst the inhabitants, inflamed with religious zeal, and exasperated by the treachery they had just experienced from the Copts, were ready to afford powerful assistance to the garrison. Amru led the Musulman army across the Delta, where his valour displayed itself in daily combats. He laid siege to the city, the circumference of which was, at that time, ten miles: but as it is defended on one side by the sea, and on the other by the lake Mareotis, the ramparts exposed to attack did not exceed two miles and a half in length, at the utmost. For fourteen months the siege was carried on with a fury rarely paralleled in the history of warfare. Amru was carried off by the besieged in one of their sorties, but was not recognised. His haughty demeanour, however, began to excite suspicion, when a slave, who had been taken prisoner with his master, with singular presence of mind, hit him a blow on the face and bade him hold his tongue in the presence of his superiors. He then despatched him to the Musulman camp, under pretext of obtaining money for his own ransom. The simplicity of the early associates of the prophet rendered it impossible to distinguish the highest from the lowest by their dress, and the slave of Amru easily passed for his master.

At length, on the 22d of December, A. D. 640, the Musulmans found an entrance into Alexandria, while the Greeks took to their ships, and evacuated the capital of Egypt.

"I have taken," said Amru, in his despatch to the khaliph, "the great city of the west. It would be impossible for me to describe all its grandeur, all its

beauty. Let it suffice you to hear that it contains four thousand palaces, four thousand baths, four hundred theatres or places of amusement; twelve thousand shops for the sale of vegetables alone, fit for the food of man, and forty thousand tributary Jews. The city has been taken by force of arms, without treaty or capitulation, and the Musulmans are impatient to seize the fruits of victory."

But the virtuous Omar steadfastly refused to grant the licence for pillage which seemed to be thus demanded of him. A census was taken of the inhabitants. All those who remained faithful to their ancient religion, whether Jacobites or Melchites (*i. e.* orthodox), obtained, on payment of the annual tribute, the liberty of conscience guaranteed by the laws of the prophet. The number, however, of the converts who adopted the faith of the conquerors, — thus passing from dependence to power, from poverty to wealth, — was very great in this province, as well as in all others, and abundantly compensated for the losses suffered by the conquering army, although twenty-three thousand Musulmans had perished in the siege. Yet the mass of the population remained Christian; and even now, after twelve ages of oppression, the Coptic church in Upper Egypt, and the Greek in Alexandria, are not entirely annihilated.

It will, doubtless, be asked, why I pass over in silence an event more celebrated than the conquest of Egypt itself; the sentence pronounced by Omar against the Alexandrian library — "These books are useless if they contain only the word of God; they are pernicious if they contain any thing else;" — and the four thousand baths of Alexandria, heated for six months with the manuscripts which contained all the learning of the ancient world. But this marvellous history was related, for the first time, six centuries later, by Abulfaraj, on the confines of Media. The earlier and Christian historians, Eutychius and Elmacin, make no mention of it whatever. It is in direct opposition to the precepts of the Koran, and to the profound veneration of

the Musulmans for every scrap of paper on which the name of God may chance to be written. Moreover, the ancient library collected by the magnificence of the Ptolemies had long before been destroyed, nor have we any evidence that it had been replaced at any later period.

Heraclius, who had outlived both his power and his glory, learned at Constantinople the loss of Alexandria. This was the last calamity of his reign. He died fifty days after, on the 11th of February, 641.

During the reigns of the first two khaliphs, reigns signalised by such brilliant conquests, the Saracens had lost nothing of the enthusiasm with which their prophet had inspired them. No private ambition, no jealousy, no personal interest or passion, had as yet alloyed that zeal for enlarging the kingdom of God which turned all their efforts towards war, and made them meet martyrdom with as much exultation as victory. The commanders of armies, born in free Arabia, accustomed to complete independence of mind and will, while they rendered implicit obedience, felt not that they were subject to a master; they made no use of their will, simply because it was so perfectly in conformity with that of their chief; because the execution of his orders was no act of submission or concession. But Omar, though younger than Mohammed, had passed his seventieth year at the close of his reign. His contemporaries, or even those who had been formed under him, were no longer in the vigour of their age; a new generation had arisen in the government and in the army. It had, above all, been recruited from conquered countries, and though it still shared that religious enthusiasm which is fostered and excited in great assemblages of men, it already introduced into Islamism a new character and new ambitions.

The two khaliphs who succeeded, formed, like their predecessors, in the intimate society of the prophet; like them, purely Arab, and residing constantly at Medina, preserved unmingled the pure and ardent faith, and the

simplicity of manners, which he had implanted and prescribed; but while the two earlier, Abubekr and Omar, who were in accordance with their age, were indebted to this simplicity for their most brilliant successes, the two latter, Othman and Ali, whose contemporaries no longer resembled them, who were surrounded by men who understood them not, and whom they did not understand, introduced confusion and civil war into this government so remarkable for its simplicity. After them, when Ali had been succeeded By Moaviah, the seat of empire was transferred from Medina to Damascus; oriental despotism succeeded to the liberty of the desert; fanaticism was still kept alive in the army, but a new principle of government guided the prudence or concealed the vices of the Ommiades.

In the twelfth year of his reign Omar was mortally wounded by an assassin, who sought to revenge some private injury. The khaliph might have endeavoured to bequeath his power to his son; he might, too, have tried to transmit his throne to Ali, son of Abu Taleb, who, as representative of the elder branch of the Koreishites, as husband of Fatima, the beloved daughter of Mohammed, and as decorated from his earliest youth with the title of Vizir of the Prophet, seemed to combine every claim to the suffrages of the Musulmans. Omar would not take upon himself the responsibility of so mighty a decision. He nominated six of the veteran companions of Mohammed, to whom he left the election. He died on the 6th of November, 644.

The choice of these representatives of Islamism fell on Othman, who had been Mohammed's secretary. He had already attained to extreme age, and was incapable of supporting the burthen laid upon him. Yet during his reign, which lasted eleven years, from 644 to 655, the Musulmans completed the subjugation of Persia; they extended their conquests into Cilicia as far as the Euxine; some of their armies traversed Asia Minor, and menaced Constantinople; others repulsed two Greek expeditions which tried to effect a landing in

Egypt, and, in the year 647, they advanced as far as Tripoli in Africa. Yet all these conquests did not suffice to maintain the glory they had acquired during the twelve preceding years. Othman, deceived in the objects of his choice, betrayed by those he trusted, vainly lavishing the treasures of the state without securing partisans, was assailed at Medina by the complaints of the people. A new sect, the Charegites (Kharadjis), demanded complete liberty, which, they pretended, could be surrendered only to the inspirations of the prophet, and belonged of right to every Arab and to every Musulman. The armies even drew nigh; they encamped within a league of Medina; and sent to summon the aged khaliph either to administer justice better, or to descend from the post of commander of the Faithful. The guards deserted the gates of the city and of the palace; and, after some hesitation, assassins headed by a son of Abubekr, the brother of Ayesha, who, though the youngest of Mohammed's wives, was now called the mother of the Faithful, poniarded Othman on his throne, while he covered his heart with the Koran.

Ali had had no part in the murder of Omar or of Othman. Respected by the Musulmans as the favourite, the son-in-law, and the father of the sole descendants of the prophet, he had nevertheless been rejected in the three preceding elections, and had been kept back from a station which he regarded as his of right. At the death of Othman, on the 18th of June, 655, all the Koreishites declared in his favour. Ali was proclaimed khaliph by the majority of the Arabs; but the commanders of the Musulman armies would no longer acknowledge those peaceful chiefs, whose functions were more than half religious, and who had shared neither their perils nor their victories; and Ayesha, who had always been jealous of Ali, and had had a great share in the troubles of the preceding reign, instigated the soldiers to defend their independence by arms.

Ali had preserved all the simplicity of manners of

the first converts to Is'amism. At the hour of prayer he repaired to the mosque on foot, clad in a light garment of cotton, with a coarse turban on his head, carrying his sandals in his hand, and leaning on his bow instead of a staff. Renowned among the Musulmans as a saint, a poet, and a warrior; as the faithful husband of Fatima, who had survived her father but nine months; as the father of Hassan and Hossein, whom the prophet had often held upon his knees; he had lost nothing of his valour during the twenty-four years he had passed in repose at the tomb of Mohammed: but he soon gave occasion to think that his prudence was not equal to his high reputation. He had given some disgust to Talha and Zobeir, two of the most valiant Arab chiefs, who raised the standard of revolt against him at Mecca, usurped the government of Basra and of Assyria, and invited Ayesha to repair to their camp. Ali marched against them to the walls of Basra. A terrible battle, in which he suffered from great inferiority of numbers, took place between the two armies, in one of which was seen the son-in-law, in the other the widow, of Mohammed. Ayesha, after riding along the ranks, remained seated in a palanquin, or covered chair, borne on the back of a camel, in the midst of the fight. Seventy men were killed or wounded while in the act of driving the camel, which gave its name to this, the first battle fought between Musulmans, and celebrated as the Battle of the Camel. Ali was at length victorious. Ayesha, though a prisoner, was led back with honour to the tomb of the prophet.

At the same time Moaviah, son of Abu Sophyan, the ancient rival of Mohammed, had been chosen khaliph in Syria. The command of that province had been delegated to him by Omar, and had been equally marked by moderation and by valour. On the news of the death of Othman he had declared himself the avenger of the commander of the Faithful; he displayed his blood-stained garments in the mosque of Damascus;

and sixty thousand Arabs, or converted Syrians, had sworn to follow his standard. Amru, the conqueror of Egypt, and the most justly celebrated among the Musulman generals, was the first to salute Moaviah with the title of khaliph. Ali marched against him: all the forces of the conquerors of Asia were collected; and, if we may believe the Arabian historians (too prone, indeed, to seek to astonish rather than to instruct the reader), the two armies remained face to face for nearly a twelvemonth. Ninety battles were fought: forty-five thousand men perished on the side of Moaviah, twenty-five thousand on that of Ali. At length the whole body of the Musulmans demanded that, in conformity with the law of the Koran, the two rivals should refer their dispute to the decision of two arbitrators. The two khaliphs submitted to the will of the army. Ali returned to Kufah on the Euphrates, Moaviah to Damascus; and their two representatives, Abu Musa and Amru, were left to decide which of the two was to retain the dignity of commander of the Faithful. To depose both, and elect a third, seemed to be the most impartial course. Upon this the umpires agreed, and Abu Musa announced to the people that Ali had ceased to be khaliph; when Amru, outwitting his colleague, instantly declared that Moaviah consequently remained in undisputed possession of the khaliphate. From this act of treachery dates the schism which still exists between the Shiahs and the Sunnis. The former, and more especially the Persians, regard the deposition of Ali as illegal, and even the succession of the three khaliphs who intervened between him and Mohammed. The latter, and especially the Turks, esteem the succession of Moaviah as legitimate from that time.

Civil war broke out afresh, and continued until the end of the reign of Ali, A. D. 656—661. The empire founded on such a long course of victories seemed on the point of crumbling to ruin. Three Kharadjis, or fanatics of the sect which incessantly inveighed against the usurpation of power, which they claimed as the

property of the whole nation, resolved to devote their lives for the simultaneous destruction of the three men who caused the greatest effusion of Musulman blood. The two fanatics who were appointed to assassinate Amru and Moaviah were arrested; Ali fell under the dagger of the third, on the 24th of January 661. He was 63 years of age.

Hassan, the eldest son of Ali and grandson of the prophet, was recognised by the sect of the Shiahs as successor to his father; but being of an unambitious temper, and desirous of putting an end to the civil wars which had already caused the effusion of such torrents of blood, he entered into a treaty with Moaviah, and at the end of six months renounced all claim to the khaliphate.

The zeal of Moaviah was not so disinterested as that of his predecessors. During a reign of twenty years, which extended into extreme old age, he healed the wounds inflicted on the Musulman empire by civil war, and turned the arms of the Faithful once more against those whom they called infidels — against the Turks beyond the Oxus, and against the Christians in Asia Minor and Africa. For seven years his troops laid siege to Constantinople, while other armies traversed Libya, and founded the new capital of that province called Kairwan *, at twelve miles from the sea and fifty from Tunis. But the conquests of the Musulmans were no longer undertaken with the sole view of extending the reign of the Koran; they now served to establish the supremacy of a new sovereign family, which united the despotic habits of the ancient [illegible] of the East to the fanaticism of new sectaries. Moaviah had quitted Arabia to return no more: he preferred the abject submission and servile habits of the Syrians to the haughty independence of the Beduins. He succeeded in causing his voluptuous son Yezid to be acknowledged as his colleague, thus securing his succession by anticipation; and this transmission of power being

* Called, by Gibbon and others, Cairoan. — *Transl.*

once admitted, the lieutenancy of the prophet became hereditary in the family of Abu Sophyan, his earliest and most inveterate enemy.

The Fatimides, the descendants of Ali and of the daughter of Mohammed, had neither wished to excite a civil war, nor chose to recognise what they regarded as a usurpation, nor to cease to combat for the true faith. Hossein, Ali's second son, had served in the second siege of Constantinople. But when the vices of Yezid taught the Musulmans the weight and the infamy of the new yoke imposed upon them, Hossein, who had retired to Medina, lent an ear to the overtures of a party who declared their desire of restoring the sovereignty to the blood of the prophet and the race of the Koreishites. A hundred and forty thousand men, it was affirmed, were ready to draw the sword in his cause. Hossein crossed the desert with a small troop of friends devoted to his family; but on arriving on the frontiers of Assyria, he found that the insurrection in his favour had been already suppressed, and that he was hemmed in on every side by enemies. Retreat was impossible; submission appeared to him unworthy of his name and lineage. In vain did he exhort his friends to provide for their own safety; not one would desert him. Thirty-two horsemen and forty foot soldiers resolved to face the whole army of Obeidallah, the governor of Kufah, with the full knowledge that it had five thousand horse alone. But there was not a single Musulman who did not tremble at the thought of laying hands on the son of Ali, the grandson of the prophet. Not one dared to stand the charge of the Fatimides. They had not, however, the same scruple in attacking them from a distance with their arrows, because they could not distinguish upon whom their strokes alighted. Every soul of the Fatimides perished. Hossein was killed the last — supporting in his arms his son and his nephew, wounded and expiring. Thus, on the 10th of October, 680, was the family of Mohammed crushed in the very empire of which he was the founder. Hossein, however,

left a son, whose posterity, down to the ninth generation, furnished the imams, or high priests of Islamism, who are to this day the object of veneration to the Persians, and whom the khalifs of the race of the Ommiades did not dare to persecute in the free land of Arabia.

## CHAP. XV.

REIGNS OF THE SUCCESSORS OF MOAVIAH UNWORTHY OF NOTICE. — EXTINCTION OF THE OMMIADES. — LINE OF THE ABBASIDES. — SPLENDOUR OF THE PALACE OF BAGDAD CONTRASTED WITH THE SIMPLICITY OF THE EARLY KHALIPHS. — CHANGE IN THE MUSULMAN NATION. — CHARACTER OF THE SYRIANS, PERSIANS, AND EGYPTIANS. — INFLUENCE OF THE MOHAMMEDAN RELIGION. — CULTIVATION OF SCIENCE AND LETTERS AMONG THE ARABS. — ENERGY EXCITED BY THE DOCTRINES OF MOHAMMED. — SIMULTANEOUS ATTACKS ON THE EAST AND WEST OF EUROPE UNDER THE OMMIADES. — STATE OF THE GREEK EMPIRE AFTER THE DEATH OF HERACLIUS. — HIS SUCCESSORS. — CONSTANS II. — CONSTANTINE POGONATUS. — INVENTION OF THE GREEK FIRE. — CONSEQUENT DEFEAT OF THE SARACENS. — JUSTINIAN II. — HIS ATROCITIES. — SECOND ATTACK ON CONSTANTINOPLE, UNDER MOSLEMAH. — LEO THE ISAURIAN. — HIS CHARACTER. — HIS SUCCESSFUL DEFENCE. — CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS. — CONQUESTS OF THE SARACENS IN THE WEST. — AFRICA. — FINAL DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE. — SUBJUGATION AND CONVERSION OF THE MOORS. — INTRODUCTION OF THE SARACENS INTO SPAIN. — VISIGOTHIC KINGS AND PEOPLE. — RODRIGO. — INSULT OFFERED TO COUNT JULIAN. — HIS REVENGE. — LANDING OF TARIK. — DEFEAT OF RODRIGO. — SUCCESSES OF MUSA. — DANGEROUS POSITION OF FRANCE. — HER INTERNAL CONDITION. — CONQUEST OF NARBONNE BY ZAMA. — DEFEAT OF EUDES, DUKE OF AQUITAINE. — VICTORIES OF ABDERRAHMAN. — CHARLES LE MARTEL. — BATTLE OF THE PLAIN OF POICTIERS. — GREAT DEFEAT OF THE SARACENS. A. D. 661—750.

We have thought it expedient to follow out, with uninterrupted attention, the history of the author of one of the mightiest revolutions that ever changed the face of the world; we have also endeavoured to make the reader acquainted with his first disciples, those warrior-apostles who so strangely blended in themselves the austerest virtues of the anchoret with the boundless ambition of the usurper; but having shown how the empire of the

khaliphs was founded; having reached the period when the palace of Damascus was given up to an hereditary line of voluptuous princes, who were strangers to their troops, and whose reigns are as little marked by political wisdom as by valour, we shall not bestow on the quickly forgotten names of Yezid, Moaviah II., Mervan, Abdul-Malek, and Valid, a degree of care and examination which has been denied to the almost domestic history of the Merovingian kings, or those of the Lombards and Burgundians. It will be sufficient to state that, after the elevation of Moaviah, which (A. D. 661) placed on the throne that branch of the family of the Koreishites which was called, after his grandfather, the house of the Ommiades, fourteen khaliphs reigned successively, during a space of ninety years, in the palace of Damascus, until, in the year 750, Mervan II. was deposed and put to death by Abul Abbas al Saffah, who descended from Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed. With him commenced the reign of the dynasty of the Abbasides, rendered illustrious by the foundation of Bagdad, where it fixed its residence, as well as by the generous protection it extended to letters.

Nothing, however, in the palace of the khaliphs was calculated to remind the observer of any connection between the objects before him and the founder of an austere religion; nothing betokened it as the dwelling of the representatives of a prophet, whose mode of life had never deviated from the simplicity of the poorest Beduin. A numerous guard, bedizened with gold and bristling with steel, kept watch at the gate; the apartments within were decorated with every ornament that wealth and luxurious art could procure; every delicacy of the most sumptuous table was sought for, to gratify the palate of the commander of the faithful; and when he travelled, four hundred camels were hardly sufficient to carry even the apparatus of his kitchen. Seven thousand eunuchs were employed in attendance on his person, or as a guard to his women. The khaliph made it an invariable rule to appear at the great mosque for

prayer, and to preach there on Friday, the day which the Musulmans devote to public worship; but this was the only occasion on which he presented himself to the people, and he was then accompanied with all the pomp of royalty. The rest of his life was passed in the Paradise of Damascus, — the name given by the people of the East to the gardens of the palace, — in the midst of gushing waters, under fresh and leafy shades, and breathing an air loaded with perfume.

But whilst the character of the sovereigns was utterly changed, the still recent nation of Musulmans retained that impelling spirit of activity and energy which seemed to promise them the mastery of the world; and which would soon have enabled them to complete their conquest, if they had not been abandoned by their chiefs. This absolute transformation of the eastern nations, effected in so short a space of time, and invested with a character as permanent as it was opposite to that which they had hitherto exhibited, is one of the wonders of the middle ages most deserving attention. The house of the Ommiades was never beloved nor zealously served by the Arabs; its armies, therefore, were composed of the new converts, the Syrians, the Persians, and the Egyptians. But during the fifteen hundred years that these nations had been acting a prominent part on the theatre of the world, and had been rendered conspicuous by the light of history, there had been time to ascertain their character. It had been subjected to various trials by the different governments and religions of the ancient Egyptians and Persians; by those of the Greeks who succeeded Alexander, of the Romans, and of the Christian Greeks. They had ever exhibited the same superstition and pusillanimity; the same eager readiness to believe the marvellous; the same proneness to pollute their worship with every extravagance, and to enervate their souls by unrestrained indulgence in sensual pleasure. Suddenly they embraced with enthusiastic ardour a religion which interposes an abyss of separation between the God of spirits and his earthly creatures,

which rejects all anthropomorphism, every outward image, every thing in religious worship that can move the imagination through the senses; which recognises no miracle, and seeks aid from above by prayer alone; which looks for divine protection, but guarantees it not by the assurance of prophecy, nor regards success or defeat as a judgment from heaven: — a religion whose only pontiff is the chief of the state, whose only priests are officers of law; but which, nevertheless, for ages maintained itself unimpaired. If, however, it ultimately became corrupt, this is to be attributed, not to the dispositions of the people, apparently so contrary to its spirit, but to the vices of the government; to the pernicious influence of a despotism which it had neither inculcated nor sanctioned, but which the prodigious extension of the military power it fostered had rendered triumphant.

The rapid transformation of the pusillanimous Syrians into valiant Musulmans may be looked upon as a most brilliant example of the advantages a legislator may derive from that thirst for knowledge and improvement, that love of action, inherent in man; and which, once aroused by a laudable object, suffices to itself, and becomes its own reward. The enjoyment of repose is as nothing compared with that which accompanies a sense of progression; the mere preservation of existence ceases to be regarded as a good, when contrasted with its developement. The aged, who live in the past, may entreat that their long-formed habits should not be interfered with, and that no fresh efforts should be required of them; and thus do nations grown old in reverence for the very weaknesses of their chiefs, often believe that the enjoyments of the moment would be disturbed by any activity, and that all change is hostile to happiness. But the young who echo these doctrines, so unsuited to their age, do not know themselves. Teach them to think and to act, and they will soon find the most intense enjoyments, whether social or sensual, worthless, in comparison with the new life they acquire

from the culture and exercise of all their powers. The memory of every man who has withdrawn from scenes of vanity or of vice, turns back with intense satisfaction to those moments of danger, perhaps even of distress, when his soul put forth its whole strength; when he learned to know the treasure he possessed within himself; when he discovered all his courage, his patience, his industry, his force of comprehension, his activity.

Mohammed had stimulated the nations of the East both to think and to act; and the enjoyment of thought and action was as lively and as deep as it was new to them. To attempt, upon the ruins of polytheism, or of that gross superstition which in the East supplanted Christianity, whilst adopting its name, to establish a purely spiritual religion, which should give the simplest and most abstract idea of the Deity, it was necessary to call to his aid the whole power of reason; especially as he did not support his mission by miracles, and as his disciples, whatever their enthusiasm, received no other testimony of the divinity of his mission than his own eloquence. In fact, Mohammed, in his conferences at the Kaaba with the merchants, travellers, and pilgrims from all parts of Arabia, exhorted them most earnestly to reflect, to descend into their own hearts, to examine their ancient creed by the light of reason; and, from the immensity of his works, from the contemplation of all that is pure in human nature, to rise to the knowledge of the Divine Being. The meditation of many years, and perfect familiarity with the arguments, had elevated the reasoning powers of the orator to a superiority over those of his antagonists; and his eloquence on the subject which singly engrossed his attention almost outstripped his thoughts; so that it seemed to himself, as it must have appeared to others, the work of inspiration. When these discourses were afterwards collected, and revered as oracles assigning the limits of faith, of morals, and of justice, the effect they produced on the posterity of his followers was of a nature diametrically opposite to that which they had worked upon himself

and his immediate disciples. They had habituated the newly-converted Musulmans to reflection; they accustomed their descendants to a subjection of their reason to authority: for the former, they had overthrown long-standing barriers; for the latter, they had built up new ones: and to the Musulmans, as to other religionists, the time was come, when the depositaries of the revelations which formed the basis of their creed interdicted the only exercise of the mind which leads to genuine faith — enquiry. But at the time when the religion of Islam was founded, whilst it was spreading with such rapid progress, the Musulman was not content with simply assenting to the new truths which had freed his mind from the errors of idolatry; he made them a subject of incessant meditation; he strove to furnish himself with arguments for their exposition; to strengthen them by his eloquence, as well as to spread them by his sword. The prayers which he repeated five times a day gave fervour to his meditations, without varying their object. Religious oratory constituted a study no less important to the general of the army than the art of war: every believer might in his turn occupy the pulpit, when he was filled with his sacred subject and believed himself inspired: and as political and religious duties were not separated, the constant mixture of the most sublime meditations with the counsels of worldly prudence, addressed to a nation or an army, gave to the eloquence of the Arabs a character altogether peculiar.

We find, accordingly, that the progress of eloquence and poetry among the Arabs was not less rapid than that of their conquests. A nation whose prophet, whose legislator, could not write, was, at the end of a century, the only one which displayed the least activity in the world of letters; the only one labouring in the field of discovery; the only one perpetually striving to increase the stock of human science, of which the Greeks and the Romans seemed the natural conservators, but which they abandoned to destruction. It is impossible to tell what point would have been reached by the ardent ge-

nius of a people of the south, who darted onward in their career with such vigour, if it had not been checked by political impediments, and held in thraldom by the jealousy of power.

Mohammed established neither liberty nor despotism: accustomed to the former, he desired not to alarm the latter by decisions wholly at variance with it; but a man of genius, at a time when he is laying the foundations of an empire, when he is directing a mighty revolution, submits with difficulty to the republican forms which cramp his conceptions, and thwart the execution of his grandest projects. These forms give us the expression of the will and of the wisdom of an average of mankind: a power emanating from the people, and accurately representing them, must eventually effect the triumph of what may be called the common sense of nations,—of that degree of reason and instruction which are generally diffused among them. But this common sense is no less superior to the common sense of the average of kings, to the depravity of courts, to their indifference to national interests, than it is inferior to the intelligence of great men. The hero, who by the force of his own genius raises himself to the head of a nation, will wish to bequeath the welfare of that nation to the care of a senate, because his senate will be wiser than his son: but it will not be so profoundly sagacious as himself; and the truly great man, from a consciousness of his own genius, will strive to emancipate himself from laws made for those less gifted than himself, just as a man of inferior ability will endeavour to free himself from them, that he may not be the publisher of his own incapacity. Mohammed neither destroyed nor preserved the republican institutions of Mecca; but he exalted above them the power of inspiration, that divine voice which must silence all the counsels of human prudence. He organised no political despotism; it was the effect of the gift of prophecy alone.

The first successors of Mohammed, in declaring them-

selves the directors of the prayers of the people, made no pretensions to the power of prophecy. They issued orders, nevertheless, in the name of him whose lieutenants they called themselves, and they were obeyed without hesitation; but it cannot be said that, even then, their authority was despotic. They were the organs of the public will: one single thought, one sole passion, absorbed every Musulman; every effort of their lives ought to tend — in fact, did tend — to establish the triumph of their faith. The first four khaliphs attempted nothing in their own name; they reaped no personal enjoyment from the immense power which they derived from a confidence reposed rather in their piety than in their wisdom; no jealousy was excited by the exercise of their authority, which, indeed, they resigned almost entirely to the delegates whom they deemed most worthy. The companions of Mohammed, the heroes to whom the command of his armies had been given, could have no other end, no other projects, than those which the prophet himself had entertained. The exercise of their power was, therefore, not limited by instructions. They received it less from the khaliph than from the nation, and from religion; and their lowest delegates were actuated by the same common impulse. While they enforced the strictest discipline, they felt themselves free, they felt themselves sovereigns; for, in executing their own will, they fulfilled the will of all. Thus, during the most brilliant epoch of the Musulman conquests, the army, urging forward its generals, without the check of any responsibility, unrestrained by any guarantee for the preservation of liberty, acted continually with the spirit of a republic.

It was this universal passion, this devotion of all to the cause of all, which developed in a manner so brilliant, so unexpected, the activity of the people of the East; which inspired with so much courage and endurance the sons of the pusillanimous Syrians; which suggested to them such ingenious manœuvres in the art of war; and which maintained their constancy un-

shaken through danger or privation. This complete self-education, this all-pervading sentiment, put in action every talent, every virtue they possessed; rendered them happy under all the chances of war and of fortune, and constituted a reward for their heroism, far more certain than the black-eyed houries promised them in paradise. The most splendid successes are the unfailing result of the gratification of this noblest of passions pervading a whole people. Patriotism, glory, and individual happiness flourished in the army and on the frontiers, long after a mortal corruption had seized upon the centre. The obscure, inglorious khaliphs of Damascus and Bagdad continued to conquer countries which they never saw, of which they knew not even the name, long after their government had become stained with all the vices of a despotic court; long after the most illustrious men had fallen a sacrifice to the caprices of the tyrant, and the election or deposition of the commanders of a brave soldiery was habitually the work of the vilest intrigues. The cause of this is to be sought in the fact, that these victorious troops fought, not for the khaliph, but for Islamism; that they obeyed, not the orders from the palace, but the dictates of their own conscience; that they believed themselves free, and the ministers of God. It was not till a considerable time after they had been accustomed to scenes of civil war, to treachery and baseness in their leaders, that they discovered they were no longer citizens, and therefore ceased to be men.

During the reign of the Ommiades, the khaliphs attacked Europe on the east and on the west at the same time,—in Greece and in Spain. Their victories in either country seemed at first to threaten their adversaries with destruction; nor, so long as the struggle continued, would it have been easy to predict, that the issue would ultimately be favourable to Christendom.

The Greek empire was situated just opposite to that of the Arabs, on the frontiers of Europe: on it, therefore, rested the hopes of Christendom; no alliance, however, united it to those lately-formed Latin states,

with which it had a common interest in the support of religion. The Germanic nations dreamt not of the danger which might one day extend even to them; their sentiments towards the Romans, whom they had conquered, and had no further occasion to fear, were those of unaltered contempt and hatred. The Greeks, then, were left to struggle single-handed with the Musulmans, and when it was seen in how short a time Heraclius had lost his Asiatic provinces, little confidence could be placed in the means of defence left to his successors.

After the death of Heraclius, the throne of Constantinople still continued in his family for seventy years. (A. D. 641—711.) Constans II., his grandson, whose reign, from the year 641 to 668, corresponds to those of Othman, Ali, and Moaviah, or to the time of the first civil wars of the Musulmans, passed the greater part of his life at Rome and in Sicily. Some acts of tyranny, and his leaning to the monothelitic heresy, which, still more than his crimes, excited the hatred of the clergy, had deprived him entirely of the affection of his subjects. The Lombards, at that time, suffered the Greek settlements in Italy to remain at peace. Constans preferred a residence in these Latin towns to one in a capital which only served to remind him of his misdeeds. He owed his safety entirely to the civil wars which, at the same moment, distracted all his enemies, the Lombards, the Saracens, and the Avars: he was not in a condition to resist any one of them.

Nor was Constantine Pogonatus, his son, who reigned from 668 to 685, of a character calculated to inspire a higher degree of confidence. Jealous of his brothers, he caused their noses to be cut off, because the army, in a moment of seditious riot, had demanded that three Augustuses should rule upon earth, in like manner as three divine persons reigned in heaven. His government, as yet, was distinguished for nothing but those petty and base passions which seemed indigenous in the Christian seraglio of Constantinople. Moaviah, as soon as he had suppressed the first civil wars which divided Islam (A. D.

668—675), advanced to attack him, apparently with a view of expiating the Musulman blood which Musulmans had shed. No judicious precaution had been taken for the defence of the capital; the Hellespont and the Bosphorus remained open, and a Saracen fleet, from the ports of Syria and Egypt, came every summer, for seven years, and disembarked an army of Musulmans under the walls of Constantinople. However, although the coast had not been defended, the fortifications of the town had been restored; the throng of refugees from all the provinces of Asia had increased the number of inhabitants, and swelled the list of defenders of the capital; some military habits had been acquired during their long retreat; the danger impending over their country and their church had awakened a degree of religious enthusiasm; and those, who would have shrunk from the fight in the open field, showed themselves able to defend the ramparts.

But Constantinople was indebted for her preservation to a new and fortunate discovery, which chemistry accidentally opened to the Greeks, at a time when there was neither courage, patriotism, nor talent, in either commander or men, sufficient to repel so formidable an enemy. An inhabitant of Heliopolis (there were two towns of that name, one in Syria and the other in Egypt), named Callinicus, discovered a composition of naphtha or oil of bitumen, pitch, and sulphur, which, once set on fire, could not be extinguished by water; which adhered to wood with destructive activity, and consumed with equal facility a single ship or a whole fleet; and which, when thrown on the combatants, insinuated itself between the joints of their armour, and destroyed them by a death of torture. Callinicus, a subject of the khaliphs, but a Christian, brought his secret to Constantinople, and used it in defence of Christendom. This secret was preserved till the middle of the fourteenth century, when it was superseded by the still more tremendous invention of gunpowder. Its qualities are very imperfectly known to us. The crusaders, who called the Greeks "Grégeois,"

named it "le feu Grégeois," Greek fire; while the Greeks themselves called it "liquid or marine fire." The prows of vessels, and the ramparts of towns, were furnished with tubes, by means of which this blazing oil was thrown to a great distance; a piston projected it with great velocity into the air, as soon as it came in contact with which, it became ignited by some process unknown to us: the devoted victims saw it approaching in the form of a fiery serpent, till at last it fell in a burning shower on vessels and men. An hour's fight would cover the sea with this flaming oil, and give it the appearance of a sheet of fire. The Saracen fleets were repeatedly destroyed by it, and their most valiant warriors, whom the near aspect of death had never daunted, recoiled from the terrors and the tortures of this liquid fire, which crept beneath their armour, and clung to every limb.

Constantine Pogonatus thus acquired a glory he had but little reason to anticipate: Moaviah was not only compelled to raise the siege of Constantinople, but, at the close of his life, to purchase a thirty years' peace with the empire of the East, by a disgraceful tribute.

The last prince of the race of Heraclius, Justinian II., who succeeded his father, Constantine Pogonatus, in the month of September, 685, was of a character to increase the perils of the empire. He was only fifteen years old; his ferocity, kept alive by the influence of a eunuch and a monk, his two chief ministers and sole confidants, had all the activity of his time of life. He found enjoyment in the punishments he inflicted, and insisted on witnessing: the sufferings of others were to him a source of agreeable excitement, and his breast was inaccessible to pity for miseries which he had never felt nor feared. During the ten years from 685 to 695, the East was delivered up to the fury of a monster, who wanted neither talents nor courage, and who was well able to defend himself from the effects of the universal hatred which he at once deserved and defied. During the succeeding ten years, Justinian wandered an exile

among the barbarous nations on the borders of the Euxine Sea. A revolution had hurled him from the throne; but his successor had, with most imprudent lenity, spared his life, and had only mutilated his face, as a means of preventing his re-ascending the throne. In the year 705, however, Justinian re-entered Constantinople at the head of an army composed of Bulgarian peasants and of Chozars, a people who lived on the borders of the Don, and was again proclaimed emperor. While he was in exile, the reins of government had been in the hands of two Augustuses, named Leontius and Apsimar: they were dragged, loaded with chains, to the hippodrome; and Justinian, planting a foot on the neck of each, witnessed for an hour the games of the circus, thus treading under foot his victims before he consigned them over to execution. After his return he maintained himself on the throne for six years, during which his former cruelty was heightened by an implacable spirit of revenge. This tyrant condemned to the most horrible tortures not only individuals, but whole towns that had incurred his displeasure during his exile. At length, however, a new insurrection delivered the East from his power. He was massacred in the month of December, 711; and, his son and mother being put to death with him, the race of Heraclius became extinct.

The long period during which Justinian's tyranny provoked the revolutions which twice hurled him from the throne, was not remarkable for any calamities from without. The Bulgarians, a ferocious people of the Slavonian race, who had settled on the banks of the Danube, in a country which still bears their name, took no part in the civil wars of the Greeks, except to aid Justinian against his subjects. The Musulmans were too much engaged at home to think of attacking the empire. The Arabs, being unwilling to recognise the house of Moaviah, a new khaliph, elected at Mecca, had thence extended his sway over Persia; so that each of the two eastern empires was too much occupied with its own troubles to enter on a war with its ancient rival.

The Saracens were the first to recover the free disposal of their military force. In the reign of Soliman (A. D. 715), an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men was sent, under the command of Moslemah, brother of the khaliph, to effect the conquest of Constantinople, which it was declared Mohammed had promised to the Faithful, and which the Musulmans regarded as essential to their salvation.

But, to meet this new danger, fortune raised to the throne of Constantinople a man endowed with decision of character, distinguished talents, and an enlightened reason: this was Leo III. or the Isaurian, who was crowned on the 25th of March, 717, and reigned till 741. His crown descended to his son and grandson. Brought up in obscurity amid the mountains of Asia Minor, among a people to whom the arts of populous cities were unknown, he had imbibed from his countrymen the primitive aversion of the Jews and Christians to idols and images, the worship of which had already been for some centuries introduced into the church. His abhorrence of idolatry, founded both on religion and on philosophy, was strengthened by the reproaches which the Greeks continually received from their rivals in the East, who had an invincible hatred of images. The Persians, and subsequently the Musulmans, while they expressed their horror of men whom they saw worshipping the work of their own hands, had appealed against the practice of the Christians to the authority of their own sacred books, and reproached them with a gross violation of the second commandment; and, as they had at the same time overthrown the altars and dragged in the dirt those images to which was attributed a miraculous character; as they had successfully braved those thunders which, according to the priests, were prepared for their defence, they had inflicted on superstition the most formidable of all blows, those which affect, not the intellect, but the senses. A great zeal for reform was thus excited throughout the empire; a strong desire to return to a more pure religion succeeded the shame-

ful traffic of superstition which had so long disgraced the clergy. Leo the Isaurian put himself at the head of this honourable turn of public feeling; and, for weapons to oppose Musulman fanaticism, had recourse to reason, philosophy, and the light of true Christianity. Happy if he had assailed superstition with no other forces; or if the attacks and plots of the monks had not forced him into measures of persecution, that dishonoured the cause they were intended to serve!

The defence of Constantinople by Leo the Isaurian was still more brilliant than that of Constantine Pogonatus at the former siege. Before he was well established on his throne, Moslemah, on the 15th of July, 717, had crossed the Hellespont at the straits of Abydos with his numerous army, and, unfurling in Europe, for the first time, the banner of the prophet, he assailed the walls on the side of the land, at the same time that a fleet of eighteen hundred sail attacked them from the sea. The fleet was entirely destroyed by the Greek fire; and in the next campaign a second met the same fate. The emperor succeeded in turning the swords of his enemies against each other, and an army of Bulgarians assisted in the repulse of the Musulmans. Moslemah was at last compelled to raise the siege on the 15th of August, 718, having sustained a loss so great as to deprive the Ommiades of all power of renewing the attack on the empire. Constantine Copronymus, son of Leo III., obtained some victories over the Musulmans at the beginning of his reign, but he marched to seek them on the banks of the Euphrates. Greece had ceased to fear them; and, during the whole of the eighth century, Asia Minor was completely subject to the successors of the Cæsars.

The attacks of the Musulmans on the West were at first crowned with extraordinary success. The conquest of Africa was effected (A. D. 665—689) by Akbah, lieutenant of the khaliph Moaviah, and of his son Yezid. Having led his victorious army as far as those parts which are now under the dominion of the emperor of Morocco, he urged his horse into the waters of the

Atlantic, just opposite the Canary Isles, and, brandishing his scimitar, exclaimed, "Great God! why is my progress checked by these waves? Fain would I publish, to the unexplored kingdoms of the west, that thou art the sole God, and that Mohammed is thy prophet; fain would I cut down with this sword those rebels who worship other gods than thee!" It was not, however, till after the second civil wars, from 692 to 698, that Carthage, the metropolis of Africa, was besieged by Hassan, governor of Egypt. The obstinate resistance of the Christians, their short-lived successes (during which, with the assistance of a Greek fleet, they retook some towns of which the Musulmans had made themselves masters), so provoked the resentment of Hassan, that, on re-entering Carthage by storm, he gave up that beautiful city to the flames. The former rival of Rome was finally and utterly destroyed. A great number of the inhabitants were put to the sword; many escaped to the Greek fleet, which conveyed them to Constantinople during the exile of Justinian II.; many were scattered over the coasts of Sicily, Italy, and Spain. Those in whom attachment to their country prevailed over their love of their religion, suffered themselves to be transplanted to Cairoan, the new capital founded by the conquerors; and the ancient queen of Africa has never arisen from her ruins.

The Moors and the Berbers, as well as the Romans, opposed some resistance to the Musulmans. The historians of the latter, unchecked in their descriptions of battles with a people who had no traditions, lent them countless armies to enhance the glory of their own conquests, and have celebrated victories which were probably never obtained. But, whatever their resistance, the Moors were ultimately reduced to submission by Musa, Hassan's successor. Thirty thousand of their youth embraced Islamism in the same day, and were enrolled in the army: the whole nation, already resembling the Beduins in their customs, and born under a similar climate, adopted the language and name, as well as the

religion, of the Arabs, and at the present day the Moors can with difficulty be distinguished from the Saracens.

Scarcely had the conquest of Africa been completed, in the year 709, when a Visigothic noble proffered his assistance to the lieutenant of the khaliphs, in introducing their troops into Spain. Rodrigo, who then ruled over Spain, was the twentieth of the Visigothic kings of Toledo, reckoning from Athanagild, who, in the year 554, had removed the seat of government to that city. We shall not trace the succession of these sovereigns, who are known to us only through the medium of short and imperfect chroniclers, or through the acts of the councils of Toledo. A long detail of assassinations, of domestic plots, of sons put to death by the order of their fathers, would leave only a confused impression of crimes and violence, associated with barbarous names which the memory could not long retain. The Arian creed, which had maintained its ground longer in Spain than in any other part of the West, was abandoned in 586 by Recared, who at the commencement of his reign professed the orthodox faith. From this period the spirit of intolerance which prevailed among the clergy seemed to exercise a constant influence over the national councils. All who differed from the dominant opinions were subject to persecution, and the dissent of sectarians and Jews was frequently punished with death. It was to be expected that those who carried tyranny even into the sanctuary of thought, would hardly endure the presence of a spirit of liberty in the civil government of the state: nevertheless, the Visigothic kings were not absolute; during the whole of their rule the throne was considered elective; and, although on several occasions the son succeeded to the father, it was only when, with the consent of the nation, he had been associated in the government during his father's life.

This nation, however, consisted not of citizens, but of nobles, great landholders, and priests. From an early period the Visigoths had had nothing to fear from the opposition of enemies in the Peninsula; they retained

their possessions on the other side of the Pyrenees,—Septimania, or Languedoc,—of which the Frankic kings had tried to deprive them. They subjugated the Suevi of Lusitania in 584, and in 623 drove the Greeks from the towns which they yet occupied on their coasts. From that time they neglected those military exercises which seemed objectless and needless. The victors, mixing with the far more numerous but vanquished Romans, adopted their language; or rather, from the mingling of Teutonic words and phrases with the provincial Latin, first arose that Romanz language afterwards called Spanish. About the middle of the seventh century the Roman laws were abolished, and the whole of the kingdom governed according to the Visigothic code: this, it is true, was scarcely more than an abridgement of the code of Theodosius. The distinction between the two races was, therefore, more completely effaced in Spain than any other part of the West. The appellation Gothic was assigned to the whole nation, though Roman manners prevailed, and luxury, effeminacy, and the love of pleasure had obtained universal dominion. The landholders were numerous and armed, but they had lost their warlike habits and tastes; and, in showing themselves disposed to have recourse to their national enemies to avenge their wrongs, rather than to their own swords, they proved that their barbarian opinions and sentiments were already exchanged for those of the empire.

Count Julian, a Gothic noble, governor of Ceuta in Africa, and of a portion of Spain on the other side the Straits, had received an inexpiable injury. It is related—but the statement rests for authority much more on a Spanish romance than upon any authentic chronicles—that Julian's daughter Cava was carried off by king Rodrigo, and that, to revenge this outrage, he hesitated not to sacrifice both his country and his religion. It is known, also (and with a higher degree of certainty), that Witiza, the predecessor of Rodrigo, had left two sons. Now, although the nation had a right to remove them

from the throne by a new election; yet, even in elective monarchies, the sons of kings consider themselves endowed with inalienable rights; and it is a received doctrine among the supporters of legitimacy, that a dethroned monarch is justified in appealing to the enemies of his country, if by this means he shall be enabled to recover any portion of the power of his ancestors. Count Julian, the sons of Witiza, and their uncle Oppas, archbishop of Toledo, secretly despatched a messenger to Musa, who then governed Africa for the khaliph, to request the assistance of a Musulman army to replace the legitimate princes on the throne.

A daring Saracen commander, named Tarik, was the first to pass the Straits, in the month of July, 710, with five hundred soldiers. The place where he disembarked still bears the name of Tarifa, and the castle of Julian, which was opened to receive him, he called Algesiras (the Green Isle). It was quickly filled with Christians, who flocked to his standard. In the following April, Tarik landed again in Spain, with five thousand soldiers, at Gibraltar, properly *Gebel el Tarik* (the mountain of Tarik). Rodrigo despatched troops with orders to drive the Musulmans into the sea; but their commander was himself put to the rout. The king of the Visigoths then assembled his whole army, which is said to have been from ninety to a hundred thousand strong; but Tarik, on his side, had been receiving daily reinforcements. Twelve thousand Musulmans had already joined his standard; a multitude of African Moors, who had proved the valour of the Saracens, hastened hither to take part in their successes; even the number of Christians, who, dissatisfied with the government, or seduced by the nobles, had taken up arms against their religion and their country, was very considerable. The armies met on the Guadalete, near Xeres. The Arab cavalry and light infantry, as usual, fatigued the more heavily armed troops of the Goths with long skirmishes. The engagement thus continued for seven days, from the 19th to the 26th of July. Rodrigo commanded his

army in person; but the last successor of Alaric appeared at the head of his soldiers, bearing on his head a crown of pearls, clothed in a flowing robe of gold and silk, and reclining in a car of ivory drawn by two white mules. The troops resembled their chief: it is, therefore, not very surprising that their conduct corresponded to their dress. On the fourth day of the battle, the archbishop of Toledo and the two sons of Witiza, whose treachery had not been suspected, went over to the enemy with their partisans: from that moment the battle was decided, and the remaining three days were little else than a disastrous rout, fatal to the Gothic nation, as well as to nearly all the combatants. Almost all the towns subsequently attacked by detached parties opened their gates. Toledo, by capitulating, secured protection to its ancient religion; the lesser towns followed this example; and, in the first year of the invasion, Tarik had pushed his victorious course to the very shores of the Asturias. In the two following years, Musa, who had arrived with a fresh army from Africa, attacked successively Seville, Merida, and the other cities which had at first refused to surrender. Before the end of the year 713, the whole of Spain was conquered; for the resistance of a few petty chiefs, who had retreated to inaccessible fastnesses in the mountains, was too insignificant to attract the notice of the Musulmans. By these very chiefs, however, and their descendants, in whom poverty and danger revived those virtues which luxury had destroyed, the country was reconquered; but that which was wrested from them in three years, it required eight centuries to regain. Scarcely was Spain reduced, when, in 714, its conqueror Musa was made to experience the ingratitude of despotic courts. He was arrested at the head of his army, by a messenger from the caliph Valid, who commanded him to hasten to Damascus, there to render an account for the abuse of power of which he was said to have been guilty.

The geographical position of France now made it her special duty and interest to resist the fearful pro-

gress of the Musulman arms. We have seen, in another chapter, that, just at this period, Pepin of Heristal, duke of the Austrasian Franks, died (December 16. 714), after having, by the assistance of the great nobles, triumphed over the popular party of the Neustrians and their mayor of the palace, and had reduced the voluptuous and imbecile descendant of Clovis to a kind of captivity. The legitimate sons of Pepin died before him; and there is reason to believe that one of them, Grimoald, was killed by his natural brother Charles, afterwards surnamed le Martel, *i. e.* the Hammer. This Charles, by whose valour France was hereafter to be saved, was then a prisoner of Plectrude, the widow of Pepin one of whose sons, a child, of about six years of age, had been designed to be mayor of the palace to the *fainéant* king Dagobert III., then about thirteen; so that, to the disgrace of the free men by whom they were to be obeyed, a boy king, in conjunction with an infant prime minister, was to govern the first monarchy of the West. The hatred of the Neustrians for the Austrasians had doubled during the oppressive administration of Pepin; the authority of the Franks was no longer recognised by the greater part of Germany. The Frieslanders made yearly attacks on the Austrasians. Aquitaine, Provence, and Burgundy, governed by dukes or counts, had separated themselves entirely from the monarchy. At length a civil war broke out in the very army that Pepin had left at his death to his widow Plectrude: some remained faithful to her, others wished to release Charles from the prison in which he was confined at Cologne. No idea of the general interest, of honour, of the defence of Christendom, seemed to form a bond of union among the people of the West; nor did Zama, the khaliph's new lieutenant, find any difficulty in crossing the Pyrenees, or in seizing upon Narbonne and all that part of Gaul that had remained attached to the Visigothic monarchy.

The dukes of the southern provinces of Gaul soon began to negotiate and to submit. Eudes, duke of

Aquitaine, after sustaining a siege in Toulouse, his capital, resolved to seek the alliance of Munuza, the Saracen commander of Septimania and Catalonia, and to give him his daughter in marriage. Ambiza, the new governor of Spain, making his way into Burgundy, advanced in 725, as far as Autun, with but little difficulty. Abderrahman, whom the khaliph Hashem afterwards sent to Corduba, as governor of Spain, crossed the Pyrenees in 732, entered Gaul by Gascony, carried Bordeaux by assault and delivered it up to pillage, crossed the Dordogne, defeated the duke of Aquitaine in two battles, and ravaged Périgord, Saintonge, Angoumois, and Poitou. Other bands of Musulmans had made their way into Provence; and duke Mauronte, as well as many other nobles between the Rhone and the Alps, had voluntarily submitted to the khaliphs. It appeared impossible for France to avoid subjugation: with her, all Europe would probably have fallen; for there was no people in the rear of the Franks in a condition for war, no other Christian people, none other that had made any progress toward civilisation; none, in short, which, either by its valour, its policy, its means of defence, or the number of its troops, could indulge any hope of victory if the Franks were conquered.

But Charles Martel, whom his partisans had liberated, in 715, from the hands of Plectrude and from his captivity at Cologne, had employed all the intervening time in remodelling the monarchy, and in raising a new army; in attaching it to himself; in distributing amongst the soldiers the only riches he found still untouched, those of the clergy; in training them to war, by leading them successively against the Frieslanders, the Saxons, the Aquitanians, and all the tribes which had severed themselves from the body of the state. He had reduced the Neustrians to subjection, and had gained the entire affection of the Austrasians. An absolute barbarian himself, and reigning in a country from which ancient civilisation seemed completely rooted out, the whole of his life was passed in the camp. In the midst of these contests,

his astonishment, but not fear, was excited, by the arrival of his old enemy Eudes, the duke of Aquitaine, accompanied by a small number of Aquitanian fugitives, declaring that he had nothing left of the territory or the army with which he had hitherto resisted him; that an enemy more powerful than either of them had despoiled him of every thing. Charles Martel consulted his Franks, and they all declared themselves willing to undertake the defence of their former enemy, who now appealed to their generosity, against the Saracens He passed the Loire, in the month of October, 732, met Abderrahman on the plain of Poictiers, and, after seven days' skirmishing, engaged in that fearful battle which was to decide the fate of Europe. Isidore, bishop of Beja, in Portugal, an author nearly contemporary, is the only one who devotes more than two lines to this memorable event, which occurred at a time when no one wrote. "The Franks," says he, "were planted like an immovable buttress, like a wall of ice, against which the light-armed Arabs dashed themselves to pieces without making any impression. The Musulmans advanced and retired with great rapidity; but they were mowed down by the swords of the Germans. Abderrahman himself fell under their blows. Meanwhile night began to fall, and the Franks lifted up their arms, as if to petition their leaders for rest. They wished to reserve themselves for the next day's fight, for they saw the distant country covered with Saracen tents. But when, on the following morning, they formed for battle, they perceived that the tents were empty, and that the Saracens, terrified by the dreadful loss they had sustained, had retreated in the middle of the night, and were already far on their way." Although the Musulman army effected its retreat into Spain without further check, this great battle was decisive; and Europe at this day owes its existence, its religion, and its liberty, to the victory gained over the Saracens before Poictiers, by Charles, the Hammer which shattered the Saracen force.

## CHAP. XVI.

ABSENCE OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS. — MILITARY CLERGY. — CHARLES LE MARTEL. — HIS NUMEROUS WARS AND VICTORIES. — GERMANIC CHARACTER OF HIS ARMY AND GOVERNMENT. — THIERRY IV. — HIS DEATH. — CHARLES'S SOVEREIGNTY. — HIS DEATH. — HOSTILITY OF THE CLERGY TO CHARLES. — VISION OF ST. EUCHERIUS. — KARLOMAN. — HIS ABDICATION. — PEPIN. — HIS DEFERENCE FOR THE CHURCH. — FIRST ADMISSION OF BISHOPS TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLIES. — ITS EFFECT ON THE CHARACTER OF THOSE MEETINGS. — CHILDERIC III. — HIS DEPOSITION. — PEPIN PROCLAIMED KING. — END OF THE MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY. — REIGN OF PEPIN. — ANNEXATION OF AQUITAINE, BURGUNDY, PROVENCE, ETC. TO FRANCE. — STATE OF ITALY. — ASTOLFO, KING OF THE LOMBARDS. — POPE STEPHEN II. — HIS SUIT TO PEPIN FOR ASSISTANCE. — ENTHUSIASM OF THE FRANKS. — INVASION OF ITALY. — DEFEAT OF ASTOLFO. — GRANT MADE TO THE SEE OF ROME BY PEPIN. — POWER OF THE CLERGY. — DEATH OF PEPIN. — EXTRAORDINARY CHARACTER OF HIS SON AND NEPHEW, CHARLES THE GREAT. — JOINT SUCCESSION OF CHARLES AND KARLOMAN. — DEATH OF KARLOMAN. — VICES OF CHARLES. — EGINHARD. — HIS ACCOUNT OF CHARLEMAGNE'S LEARNING AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS. — ALCUIN. — EXTENT OF THE FRANKIC EMPIRE. — STATE OF THE GAULISH AND OF THE FRANKIC POPULATION. — SUPERIORITY OF THE GERMANIC PORTION. — BORDER NATIONS. — LOMBARDY. — DIDIER. — MARRIAGE AND REPUDIATION OF HIS DAUGHTER DESIDERIA BY CHARLES. — WAR WITH LOMBARDY. — INVASION OF ITALY. — SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF PAVIA. — IMPRISONMENT OF DIDIER. — FLIGHT OF HIS SON ADELGHIS. — UNION OF THE CROWN OF LOMBARDY WITH THAT OF FRANCE. — WAR WITH THE SAXONS. — THEIR NUMBERS AND CHARACTER. — WEDEKIND. — HIS OBSTINATE RESISTANCE. — VICTORY OF BUCHHOLZ. — MASSACRE OF THE SAXON PRISONERS. — SUBMISSION OF WEDEKIND. — FINAL SUBJUGATION OF THE SAXONS. A. D. 714—800.

AFTER having laid before our readers the origin, the early progress, and the rapid conquests, of a new empire and a new religion, which, arising in the

burning regions of the south, threatened to overflow the world, we are led by these very victories to turn our attention to that people and that empire of Europe which arrested the progress of the invading torrent; which preserved and bequeathed to us the laws, the independence, the religion and the language of the Latin and the German world.

Charles Martel, the natural son and successor of Pepin of Heristal, during a reign of twenty-seven years (A. D. 714—741), appears to our eyes shrouded by a dense cloud; yet from this cloud we occasionally see the flash of the lightning and hear the roar of the thunder. The West had never been so absolutely without an historian, as during the first half of the eighth century; never had barbarism been so complete, or monarch, nobles, and people so utterly indifferent to fame, so careless of transmitting any recollections of their deeds to posterity.

The sole record we possess of this long period is found in chronicles, the author of which has rigidly abstained from devoting more than three lines to each year. Even the clergy at this time were purely military. The new bishops, upon whom Charles Martel bestowed the richest benefices of Gaul, did not lay down the sword when they assumed the crosier; the greater number of them knew not how to read, and had not in their whole chapter a single person who could write. Hence the catalogues of the bishops of France, during the seventh and eighth centuries, exhibit only a long blank. If Charles murdered his brother Grimoald, the motive was not ambition, but a desire of avenging the insult offered to his mother Alpaïde: the tie between two brothers, sons of two rival mothers, could not be very strong; and the guilty violence of Charles would do him no dishonour, at least in the eyes of his countrymen. The bravery, the promptitude, and the talents of Charles, the "Martel" (hammer) that crushed the enemies of France, inspired his companions in arms with equal gratitude and admiration.

In him they saw the hero who had repulsed the Frieslanders; who, in the great battle of Vincy, on the 21st of March, 717, had compelled the Neustrians once more to acknowledge the supremacy of the Austrasians; who conquered in succession the Saxons, the Bavarians, the Allemans, the Aquitanians, the Burgundians, and the Provençals, before he achieved that grand victory over the Saracens which saved Europe from their yoke. We have no details of these campaigns, in which Charles's success was uninterrupted; we only see that his enemies, or rather that the dukes, formerly subject to France and now struggling to throw off their allegiance, gave him not a moment's repose. The year 740 is the only one not marked by a battle; and the annalists record this fact with as much astonishment as the Romans were wont to mention those in which they closed the temple of Janus. Before Charles's time Gaul had begun to regain somewhat of the character impressed on her by Roman power and Roman civilisation. The Franks, the Visigoths, the Burgundians, established in Aquitaine, in Septimania, in Burgundy, and Provence, suffered the language and the customs of their forefathers to fall into disuse and oblivion, and adopted those of the Latins. Even the Franks of Neustria had yielded to the influence of time, of indolence, and of the examples universally prevalent around them. The victories of Charles Martel restored to France a purely Germanic government. The army was once more in possession of undisputed sovereignty, and this army was levied exclusively in countries speaking the Teutonic languages. Its assemblies, in the months of March and October, for the purpose of deliberating and deciding on national business, were more frequent and regular. Its spirit of hostility to all who used the Latin tongue was more marked. Once more, it was distinct from the mass of the people; once more, as in the early times of the first dynasty, it remained embodied in cantonments, instead of dispersing itself through the provinces, where the soldier might resume domestic

habits, and unite the cultivation of the soil to the practice of arms.

Charles had permitted Chilperic II., nominal sovereign of the Neustrians from the year 715 to 720, to retain the title of king. He had appointed Thierry IV. to succeed him (A. D. 720—737); and he left him, without distrust or dread, to the full enjoyment of the pomps and pleasures of royalty; to feasts and mistresses, the theatre and the chace: in a word, to all that these princes required to convince them that they were of a race distinct from common men, and that those who incurred the toils and the perils of war, who took upon themselves the irksome business of thought and of action, were but the obsequious menials who eased them of fatigue. It has sometimes been affirmed, and on the authority of a chronicle otherwise exact and veracious, that the *fainéant* kings were prisoners in the palace of Maumaques on the Oise. We are, however, in possession of charters of Thierry IV. dated from Soissons, Coblentz, Metz, Heristal, Gondreville, and a great many other palaces. He inhabited them all in turn, in perfect liberty, nor did it ever occur to him to suspect that he did not govern. At his death, however, Charles thought he might safely dispense with a useless pageant: he appointed no successor.

We know the names neither of the ministers, the generals, nor the companions-in-arms of Charles; unless, indeed, we choose to adopt as authority the tales and songs of chivalry, and to recognise the existence of those *Preux*, the paladins of Charlemagne; Roland and Reinhold (Rinaldo), Brandimart, Ogier the Dane, and all the illustrious heroes of romance. The wars of the Saracens in which they figure did, in fact, extend through the whole reign of Charles Martel; they were not terminated by the battle of Poictiers. Between the years 733 and 737, the Musulmans got possession of Avignon; they repelled the attacks of Charles Martel in Septimania; and subjugated nearly the whole of Provence. In 739 they were driven out, but only to

reconquer it; and their civil wars in Spain afforded the sole check to their progress in Gaul. These successive invasions give some colour of reality to the long struggles celebrated by Ariosto and his precursors, in which the more illustrious name of Charles the Great has been substituted for that of his grandfather. The time of the disastrous battle of Roncesvalles, in which Roland perished after a long career of military glory (A. D. 778, the tenth year of Charlemagne's reign), favours this supposition.

Charles died on the 21st of October, 741, leaving three sons by three different mothers: Pepin and Karloman, between whom he divided the vast dominions he had conquered in Gaul and Germany; and Grifon, much younger than his brothers, to whom he bequeathed only an estate sufficient for the maintenance of his rank. The portion of the latter, small as it was, was not respected: the two princes stripped Grifon; who, sometimes received into favour, and sometimes goaded to fresh rebellion, after having sought refuge with all the enemies of his family in turn, was at length assassinated on the banks of the Arche in Savoy. It might be presumed that the hero who had saved the church of Gaul from the Musulman yoke must be dear to the clergy: but he had imagined that for a cause so eminently religious he might demand the aid of the professors of religion. Pressed at the same time by the pagans of Germany and the Musulmans of Spain, he had subjected the revenues of convents and churches to the payment of a ninth or tenth, with the aid of which he had been enabled to support his army. Never did the clergy forgive him this application of a portion of church property. "It is because prince Charles," says the council of Kiersi to one of his descendants, "was the first of all the kings and princes of the Franks who separated and dismembered the goods of the church, it is for that sole cause, that he is eternally damned. We know, indeed, that St. Eucherius, bishop of Orleans, being in prayer, was carried up to the world of spirits,

and that, among the things which the Lord showed unto him, he beheld Charles tormented in the lowest depth of hell. The angel who conducted him, being interrogated on this matter, answered him, that, in the judgment to come, the soul and the body of him who has taken or has divided the goods of the church, shall be delivered over, even before the end of the world, to eternal torments, by the sentence of the saints who shall sit, together with the Lord, to judge him. This act of sacrilege shall add to his own sins the accumulated sins of all those who thought that they had purchased their redemption by giving, for the love of God, their goods to holy places, to the lights of divine worship, and to the alms of the servants of Christ."

What an infallible council then wrote to Louis, the Germanic priests and monks had never ceased proclaiming from the pulpit during the whole preceding century. They had struck terror into the imagination of every Carlovingian by their declarations of the certain damnation of the founder of their line. Far from exciting the disgust and indignation of his descendants by this language, they had heightened their superstitious terrors; and we may date from this period a revolution in the government of France, the subjection of the sword to the crosier, and the establishment of the supremacy of the clergy.

Of the two sons of Charles, Karloman, who had received Austrasia and Germany as his portion, seemed to have his mind most troubled by these superstitious fears. After a reign of six years (A. D. 741—747), during which his victories over the Bavarians and the Allemans gained him some renown, though sullied by the cruelty of the punishments he inflicted, and by some suspicion of treachery, Karloman suddenly took the resolution of renouncing the world, and of retiring to a convent which he had founded on Mount Soracte, near Rome; and as, even there, he found himself surrounded by too much pomp, and waited upon with too much respect, he escaped, and took refuge in the Bene-

dictine convent on Monte Cassino. If we may give credence to the legend, he there submitted to the most abject humiliations, and so perfectly succeeded in concealing his rank, that he was employed to keep the sheep belonging to the convent, or to assist in the lowest drudgery of the kitchen.

Pepin, surnamed the Short, the younger of the two brothers, was not inspired by a religious zeal so entirely detached from the things of this world. When Karloman abdicated the sovereignty, he recommended his children to his brother's care and protection. Pepin hastened to have them ordained, in order, as he said, to secure to them celestial crowns, more lasting than those perishable glories which their father had bequeathed them, and which he took to himself. At the same time he showed a degree of deference for the clergy, till then without example. He not only enriched them with immense donations; he submitted the whole of his political affairs and conduct to their judgment, and seemed to act only under their direction. He was the first who allotted to the bishops a seat in the assemblies of the nation; and by that single act he occasioned the disuse of the German or Frankic tongue, in which the deliberations had hitherto been carried on, in favour of the Latin, a language which the majority of the Franks did not understand, was henceforth the language of these meetings. Nor was this all. The bishops soon brought before the assemblies of the Champs de Mars theological questions still more unintelligible than the tongue in which they were discussed. The brave but ignorant warriors, full of reverence for the prelates, and of zeal for religion, listened uncomplainingly to the long harangues which now formed the exclusive business of the sittings, and of which they understood not a single word. The tediousness and the insignificance of the part they played, at length drove them from these assemblies; and hence arose that important revolution which, under the Carlovingian dynasty, transformed military reviews into episcopal synods. Pepin and his

son Charlemagne, however, knew perfectly well how to find their soldiers when they wanted them, by convoking the fields of March, or of May in the enemy's country. At a subsequent period the bishops succeeded in obtaining the sole voice in these meetings.

One of the first acts of the clergy, now become omnipotent, was to introduce into the Frankic legislation such of the Mosaic laws, found in the books of Deuteronomy and Leviticus, as appeared to them to afford materials for the confirmation of their power. This is the main drift of the Capitularies of Pepin, in which it is easy to trace the exclusive work of priests. They afterwards showed their gratitude to their patron by ridding him of a rival who might have become dangerous. In 742, Pepin thought himself obliged to give to Neustria a new Merovingian king, whom he called Childeric III. He had taken him out of some convent; and his choice had probably been determined by his extreme youth. By this mark of respect for the ancient race, he had endeavoured to allay the discontents and the resentments of the Franks of the south, who reluctantly submitted to the domination of the Austrasians and of a new army of Germanic soldiers. When, however, Childeric had attained the age of reason, and might possibly have asserted his claim to some portion of that royal authority of which he had hitherto enjoyed only the trappings, Pepin began to be still more disquieted by fears of those popular passions which he had sought to propitiate, but to which, as it now appeared to him, he had but given a leader. Opposing one hereditary right only by another, he felt that he was not the choice of the nation. He determined to be at least the choice of the priests.

He intrusted his chaplain and the bishop of Würzburg with a secret negotiation with Rome, and he obtained from pope Zacharias the answer which he had himself suggested. It was proclaimed in these terms: —"That it was more expedient that he should be king who really exercised the royal power." And, in fact,

on the first Sunday of March, A. D. 752, Pepin caused himself to be raised on a shield at Soissons, and proclaimed king of the Franks; after which he was anointed by the bishops with a mysterious oil which placed him under the immediate protection of the Deity. Childeric III. submitted without resistance, and was shut up in a convent at St. Omer's. His son, whose birth had probably given some alarm to Pepin, was also put out of the way.

The profound obscurity which hangs over the history of the latter reigns of the Merovingian line is not dissipated immediately after the accession of the new dynasty. The character of king Pepin is completely unknown to us. We have no means of judging whether his profound deference for the priesthood was the effect of policy or of superstition; yet this is the only remarkable feature of his character of which we have any record. We have not the slightest idea either of his habits, his talents, or of the degree of instruction which he could have acquired; and, during a reign of sixteen years from the time of his coronation (A. D. 752—768), we gain no further information concerning him.

Yet the coronation of Pepin must be regarded as the final and completing act of the revolution which placed the south of Europe under Germanic ascendancy, and renewed the rigorous organisation which the conquerors of France had brought from the North. The other Pepin his grandfather, who conquered the Neustrians and the freemen with the aid of a portion of the great nobles, while he augmented his own power, had disorganised the empire. All the dukes, his allies, had looked to the power of shaking off their yoke as the first-fruit of victory. The domination of the Franks had ceased to be recognised by Germany and by southern Gaul; and during seventy years, the Carlovingians were involved in a struggle with their former allies, the object of which was to strip them of the prerogatives for which they had fought side by side. Pepin the Short, in assuming

the title of king, instantly asserted his claim to the same supremacy which had been enjoyed by the descendants of Clovis; and so great is the power of names over men, that the pretensions he put forth to a predominance over the independent princes began to be recognised as just. A part of the dukes of Germany acknowledged his supremacy. Odilo, duke of Bavaria, demanded his sister in marriage, and promised to march again under the Frankic banner. The whole north of Gaul obeyed. The submission of the south was the fruit of a conquest which occupied nearly the entire reign of Pepin.

One of the independent dukes, Guaifer, ruled over the whole country lying between the Loire and the Pyrenees. This was the ancient kingdom of Aquitaine, which now bore no higher title than that of dukedom. It was the same country which Clovis had endeavoured to wrest from the Visigoths; and Pepin, like Clovis, sought in religion a pretext for wresting it from his sovereign, and for inducing the Franks to second his projects. He accused Guaifer of having robbed the churches of a part of their wealth; cited him to make instant restitution of them; and, on his refusing, entered Aquitaine. The war lasted eight years (A. D. 760—768): it was followed up with intense exasperation, but was at length terminated by the death of Guaifer, the entire ruin of his family, and the union of Aquitaine with the crown of France.

Pepin had profited by the dissensions of the Saracens in Spain, to recover Septimania from them. He had taken Narbonne in 759, and had for the first time united Languedoc, as far as the eastern Pyrenees, to the Frankic monarchy. Burgundy and Provence, overrun by his armies, no longer opposed any resistance. The dukes of those provinces had submitted to the royal authority, without offering battle; and, at the conclusion of his reign, there remained no portion of Gaul which was not subject to the monarchy.

Even Italy had once more experienced the bravery of

the Franks and the power of their kings. That country, divided for two centuries between the exarchs of Ravenna and the Lombard kings, had just undergone a revolution. Astolfo, king of the Lombards, had conquered Ravenna and the towns subject to the Greek emperors along the Adriatic, in the year 752: from that time this province was called Romagna, as being the only one which had remained subject to the Roman empire. The exarchate was abolished, and king Astolfo began to turn his arms against the other small provinces which the Greeks still possessed in Italy, and, especially the dukedom of Rome. The pope was the first citizen of this duchy; and, though he always acknowledged the sovereignty of the Greek empire, he exercised throughout the province a power rendered the more extensive by the attachment of the Italians to the worship of images, and their consequent hatred of the domination of the iconoclast emperors. Stephen II., who then occupied the pontifical chair, instead of imploring the aid of Constantine Copronymus, applied to the king of the Franks, and conjured him to protect the apostle St. Peter, and the flock more immediately committed to his care. He even repaired to France in person, in 753, to solicit assistance. He excited a degree of enthusiasm which he had not expected; for, while he presented himself as a suppliant, clothed in sackcloth and ashes, he found himself considered as a messenger of the divinity, or rather as a divinity himself, whose orders were to be implicitly obeyed. The Franks, with one accord, declared themselves ready to sacrifice their property and their lives for his advantage. Pepin asked fresh consecration at his hands, and implored him to anoint his wife and children with the same mysterious oil. In return, he offered to abandon for ever the care of his kingdom, and to devote the whole remainder of his life to warring for the glory of God and of his vicar upon earth.

The pope dexterously took advantage of a state of popular excitement which he had not anticipated. He

immediately shifted his ground, and required for himself, or rather for the apostle Peter, from whom he produced a letter addressed to the king of the Franks, the succour which he had at first asked for the Roman republic or the Greek empire. Of his own authority he granted to Pepin and his two sons the title of Patrician; a title which was then appropriated to the lieutenant of that very Greek empire to which the pontiff himself had hitherto been subject.

He led Pepin and the army of the Franks into Italy; and, after Astolfo had been conquered, he obtained from the generosity of the Frankic king the donation, made in favour of St. Peter, either of the provinces themselves which had hitherto belonged to the Greeks, or of certain rights over those provinces, which were never very accurately defined, or very clearly understood, either by the donor or the receiver; but which, from their very vagueness and confusion, gave rise to the pretensions of the court of Rome over the sovereignty of a part of Italy.

Pepin reigned eleven years as mayor of the palace, and sixteen as king. His father had been the representative of a sovereign army; Pepin constituted himself the representative of a sovereign clergy; but both, by their rare talents, by their energy of will, by their great personal glory, had succeeded in completely predominating over the puissant body in whose name they acted. All that we know of the laws, of the civil acts, of the military achievements, of Pepin, seem to have been calculated to found and to consolidate this sovereignty of the clergy. Nevertheless, so long as he lived, he alone profited by a power which he had laboured to transmit; and when, on the 24th of September, 768, he died, he left behind him a son greater than himself, who, during nearly half a century, continued to rule and to protect that clergy whose authority and influence Pepin had substituted for that of the army. It was not till the reign of his grandson that all the consequences of the

revolution he had effected in the monarchy could be estimated.

After having so long directed our attention alternately to sovereigns enervated by luxury and sloth, and by all the vices of courts; or to captains of barbarians, whose energy was chiefly manifested in acts of ferocity; after having turned with equal repugnance from the crimes of the Roman emperors and the crimes of the Frankic kings, we come at length to a great and noble character, —a man who unites the talents of the warrior, the genius of the legislator, and the virtues of the private citizen; a man who, born in the midst of barbarism, encompassed with the thickest darkness by the prevailing ignorance of his age, pours around him a stream of light and of glory; a man who gave a new impulse to civilisation, and sensibly advanced the condition of the human race, which had so long been retrograding; who created, after ages had been passed in destroying; and who, though much better known than those who came two centuries before or two centuries after him, still inspires us with regret that we know not more of him. The entire reign of Charlemagne, from the year 768 to the year 814, is one of the most important periods of modern history. Charlemagne, claimed by the church as a saint; by the French as the greatest of their kings; by the Germans as their countryman; by the Italians as their emperor; may be regarded as in some sort the fountain of all modern history. It is to him that we must always refer, in order to understand thoroughly our present condition and institutions.

It was not immediately that Charlemagne manifested all the greatness of his genius and of his character. Compelled to educate himself, to re-create for his own use the whole world of morals and of politics, some time was necessary for him to find his way out of the beaten track; to conceive what he owed to himself and to his subjects; to appeal to any other rule or standard of action than those low personal interests which had been

the sole guides of his predecessors. He did not succeed alone to his father; at the moment of his death Pepin had divided the monarchy between his two sons. To Charles, who was the elder, and who had then attained the age of twenty-six, he bequeathed the western part of his dominions, from Friesland to the Bay of Biscay; to Karloman, the younger, he gave the east, from Swabia to the sea of Marseilles. The two brothers did not long remain on terms of amity. If Karloman had lived, war would, in all probability, have broken out between them at no distant period: he died in the third year of his reign, A. D. 771. Charles, with a rapacity and injustice which could not have been surpassed by any of his predecessors, stripped the widow and children of his brother of their inheritance, forced them to flee into Italy, nor is his name free from the stain of even darker suspicions as to their fate.

In his domestic manners, Charles, too, began by incurring reproach, from which, indeed, he was not wholly free to the end of his life. It was not only on account of his numerous mistresses, and the scandal which he thus caused, both to his people and to his daughters, who were brought up in the palace inhabited by his concubines, that he deserved censure. In his marriages and divorces he obeyed no other law than his own caprice; he seemed insensible to the suffering of the unfortunate women whom he repudiated under the slightest pretext, and left a prey to regret and humiliation.

But singular strength, both of soul and of intellect, are required to enable a man to raise himself to the comprehension and practice of true and severe morality, when every seductive influence surrounds him, every example tends to corrupt him; when even the guides and guardians of his conscience offer him the treacherous resource of compensations, and assure him that all his sins may be absolved by alms and donations bestowed on monks and on churches. We owe it to Charles to reckon every step he set *against* the torrent,

and to repress all surprise if its impetuosity occasionally hurried him along with it.

It is not known whether Pepin, who was entirely illiterate himself, had endeavoured to procure for his son the advantages of a liberal education; or whether Charlemagne began, as well as completed, by his own unaided will and energy, those studies which enlightened his mind and contributed largely to his moral greatness. Eginhard, his friend and secretary, has left us some most curious and valuable details respecting the instruction he acquired.

"Charles's eloquence," says he, "was abundant: he expressed with great facility whatever he desired; and not contenting himself with his mother tongue, he had taken the trouble to learn those of foreign lands. He had so well learnt Latin, that he could discourse in public in that language almost as easily as in his own. He understood Greek better than he was able to employ it." It is worthy of remark, that Eginhard does not tell us whether Charlemagne understood or could speak the *vatois* of the lower classes, called Roman, which then began to be formed in Gaul, and which gave birth to the French language; his native tongue was, of course, German. "Charles," continues Eginhard, "had so much eloquence and fluency of speech, that he might almost be charged with abusing this gift. He had carefully studied the liberal arts; he had a great respect for the teachers of them, and heaped honours upon them. He had learned grammar of deacon Peter of Pisa, who gave him lessons in his old age. In his other studies he had, as preceptor, Albinus, surnamed Alcuin, a deacon from Britain, but of Saxon race; a man learned in every sort of knowledge. With him he devoted a great deal of time and labour to the learning of rhetoric, dialectics, and, more especially, astronomy. He also learned the art of calculating, or arithmetic; and applied himself with great assiduity to ascertain the courses of the stars. He likewise exercised himself in

writing; and commonly kept under his pillow, tablets and small books, so that when he had any moments to spare, he might accustom his hand to form letters: but he succeeded ill in this work, which was taken up too late and unseasonably."

It is so contrary to all our usages to attain to so great a proficiency in languages and in science without the power of writing, that people have tried to invent some other explanation for the words of this text, clear as it is; and have conjectured that calligraphy, and not mere writing, is meant. This arises from their having lost sight of the direction which instruction took in barbarous ages. With few books, and a still greater scarcity of paper, writing was a great and costly luxury; lessons were almost all orally given, nor was writing ever used as a mere instrument of study. Charles, it is true, was not constrained to economise parchment; but his masters could never have required the habit, with their other pupils, of making writing the basis of instruction; so that they would not have known how to combine their lessons with the extracts, dictations, and other written exercises now in use: they required of their scholars no notes nor compositions, and they inscribed their precepts not on tablets, but on the memory. Writing was a useful art, and not a branch of science; and a man of active mind found it much more advantageous to employ secretaries. Although, therefore, Charles could not write, we may place him, without hesitation, among the most learned sovereigns that ever sat upon a throne.

The great man that, at the period we are now contemplating, wielded the sceptre of France with undivided sway, had at his disposal the whole force of one of the most powerful monarchies the world ever beheld. The whole of Gaul was now subject to the Franks, as far as the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean, and the Italian Alps. Helvetia, Rhætia, and Swabia were annexed to it; and its northern frontier extended far beyond the Rhine, to the plains of Lower Germany, where the Franks bordered on the Saxons. The population of this vast em-

pire was very unequally distributed. Throughout the south of Gaul it was still numerous, but disarmed: the inhabitants of Aquitaine, Provence, and Burgundy were also often designated by the name of Romans; their language, out of which arose the modern French, was not understood by their conquerors; they were always regarded with distrust, were not incorporated in the armies, nor appointed to any places of trust or influence. In the centre of Gaul, though occupied by two nations instead of one—the Franks and the Romans, the former of whom had not learned the language of the latter, — the population was more thinly scattered; the greater number of husbandmen were reduced to a state of slavery; the nobles occupied whole provinces, which they administered like vast farms; and freemen, dispersed with their small hereditary properties around the borders of a great estate, felt themselves in a state of oppression which often drove them to renounce their allodia, to abandon their freehold property, and submit themselves in voluntary allegiance to some one of their powerful neighbours, who, in return, engaged to afford them protection. But in the provinces situated on the banks of the Rhine, which have preserved to this day the use of the German language, the Teutonic race were sole masters. There were few slaves, and consequently few great lords; the population mainly consisted of freemen who cultivated their own allodia; and leudes, or feudatory vassals, who had bound themselves in military service to their lords, and held themselves constantly armed and prepared to perform it.

It was in these provinces, of which Aix-la-Chapelle, or, in their own language, Aachen, was, in some sort, the metropolis, that the whole nerve and vigour of the Frankic nation resided. There it was that Charlemagne assembled his armies; there he convoked his states-general. It was with the aid of this Germanic portion of his subjects alone that he ruled the rest of his monarchy, and that he attempted conquests beyond its limits.

Charles's neighbours were not powerful enough to

inspire him with much anxiety. To the west, the sea bounded his territory; and, beyond it, the island of Britain, divided among the petty kings of the Saxon heptarchy, and in a state of absolute barbarism, exercised no influence, and could awaken no fears. To the south, Spain had detached itself, in the year 755, from the great empire of the khaliphs. A descendant of the Ommiades, Abderrahman, had founded the kingdom of Corduba, which the sovereign of Damascus regarded as a revolted province. The Saracens had ceased to be formidable; and in the Asturias, Navarre, and Aragon, obscure Gothic princes began, under the protection of Charlemagne, to emerge from their mountain holds, and to drive back the Musulmans.

To the west, the Lombards in Italy, the Bavarians in Germany, had already felt the power of the Franks, and dissembled their hatred and their distrust, from the fear of provoking a too potent enemy? On the north alone, the vast regions of Lower Germany were covered with confederations of the Saxons, whose government was very nearly the same as that of the Franks had been three centuries before; whose bravery was equally formidable; but the social bonds between whom were too lax to render them a compact body, fitted to attempt a distant conquest. Each of these neighbouring states felt, in turn, the weight of the arms of Charlemagne.

Desiderio, or Didier, had succeeded to Astolfo in 756, on the throne of the Lombards. An attempt of Bertha, mother of Charlemagne, to unite the two royal houses by marriage, had produced the very contrary effect; — the effect, indeed, generally produced by that false policy which founds national alliances on the private affections of sovereigns. In repudiating Desideria, daughter of Didier, Charles had deeply offended his father-in-law, and had embittered national rivalries by a domestic injury. The donation which Pepin had made to the Holy See, of the provinces conquered from the Greek empire, had proved, from its vagueness and its non-execution, a source of continual animosities between the

Lombards and the popes; and Stephen III., who then occupied the papal throne, incessantly solicited Charles to tread in his father's footsteps, to undertake anew the defence of the apostle St. Peter, whom Stephen always assumed to be directly interested in the temporal prosperity of the church of Rome, and to crush the Lombard nations for ever. The young monarch, who found himself at the head of a warlike people, and to whom the chief of his religion offered eternal salvation as an encouragement to him to follow the dictates of his own ambition, his personal resentments, and his most ignoble passions, readily yielded to these solicitations. He convoked an assembly of the Franks at Geneva. On the 1st of May, 773, his warriors were to repair in arms to this place, so foreign to their language and so remote from their homes.

This war, which was destined to secure to Charles one of his first and most brilliant conquests, was not of long duration. His army entered Italy by Mont St. Bernard and Mont Cenis. The Lombards, not daring to meet their enemy in the open field, collected all their forces in Pavia, in the hope that the barbarians, far less skilled than themselves in the art of sieges, would waste their strength before the walls of that strongly fortified place, or would fall victims to the diseases which a foreign climate and their own intemperance would not fail to produce in their lines. But it appears that already Charles had found means to introduce into his camp a better discipline than had hitherto prevailed in the Frankic armies. He was not discouraged during a siege, or rather a blockade, which lasted nearly a year. He had even sufficient confidence in his lieutenants, to quit his army, while he went to celebrate the festival of Easter at Rome, where he was received by the pope with all the honours which the church ever delights to render to a powerful sovereign. Pavia was at length obliged to open her gates, in the beginning of June, 774. Desiderio was given up to Charles, with his wife and daughter, and sent prisoner to Liège;

whence, it appears, he was afterwards transferred to Corbie. The remainder of his life was consecrated to fasting and prayer—the sole consolations of his captivity. His son Adalgis, who had been at the same time besieged in Verona, had escaped a similar fate by flight. He sought a refuge at the court of Constantinople. The rest of the nation had submitted to the victor; and Charles united the crown of Lombardy to that of the Franks.

The war with the Saxons had not for its object, like that of Italy, the conquest of a country enriched with all the gifts of nature, and the labours of man; it seemed to promise much less glorious results. It was longer, far more inveterate and ferocious, and demanded far greater sacrifices of men and money. The end, however, which Charles proposed to himself, was not less important, nor were the consequences of his successes less durable.

The free and warlike Saxons already possessed those advantages over the Franks, which nations entirely barbarous have over those which begin to be civilised and have acquired more of the vices than the virtues of refinement and prosperity. The confederation of the Saxons was as yet little formidable; but nothing was wanting, save the fortunate accident which might raise up an able chief among them, to unite all the forces of their various leagues, lead them into the South, and once more over-run and conquer Gaul and Italy, as the Visigoths, the Burgundians, the Franks, the Ostrogoths, and the Lombards had successively done. The experience of several centuries had proved, that barbarous nations followed in each other's track; that one which had achieved its conquests, never continued in a condition to resist a new invader; that, in this constant and inevitable disproportion of strength, not only Europe was exposed to a renewal of the same calamities, but that all progress became impossible: the darkness of barbarism grew thicker every day; and the moment in which any degree of order or tranquillity seemed

about to be established in a newly conquered country, might be almost infallibly regarded as the forerunner of a still more terrible convulsion.

We are in a position to judge of a futurity which Charlemagne could not foresee; since we know the character of his successors, and the state of the empire during their reign. This knowledge leaves no doubt as to what would have been the final result of the war between the Franks and the Saxons, if, instead of breaking out in the time of Charlemagne, it had been deferred till the time of Louis the Débonnaire, or Charles the Bald. Charles civilised Northern Saxony: a century later, the Saxons would have replunged Gaul into complete barbarism; they would have repeated the times of Clovis and of his successors, till, enfeebled in their turn by the delights of the South and the vices of their slaves, they would have given place to new conquerors. Charles may be reproached with having suffered himself to be carried away, during this war, by vengeance and intolerance; with having exhibited instances of cruelty which are at variance with the general bent of his character; but his main object seems to have been consistent with wisdom; and to this day, we probably enjoy the fruits of his success.

The Saxons, whom Pepin and Charles Martel had already combated, with whom Charlemagne was destined to be involved in a much longer conflict, were divided into Ostphalen, or Eastphalians, to the east; Westphalen, or Westphalians, to the west; and Engern, or Angarians, in the centre. Their northern frontiers extended to the Baltic sea, their southern to the Lippe. Like the other Germanic nations, they were not subject to a single master; but to as many chiefs or kings as they counted cantons, and almost villages. They held a general diet every year, on the banks of the Weser, at which they discussed their public affairs.

At one of these meetings, probably that of 672, the priest St. Libuin presented himself before them, and exhorted them to become converts to the Christian

faith; announcing to them at the same time the approaching attack of the greatest sovereign of the West, who would soon ravage their country with fire and sword, and would exterminate the population to avenge his God. The assembled Saxons were strongly inclined to massacre the saint who addressed them in such menacing language. One old man, however, took him under his protection: he represented to his fellow-countrymen, that the priest was the ambassador of a strange and, probably, hostile divinity; and that, however offensive the language in which he delivered the substance of his embassy, they were bound to respect in his person the privileges of an ambassador. The Saxons, in consequence, abstained from avenging the provocations given them by St. Libuin; but, in hatred to the God of whose threats he was the bearer, they burned the church of Deventer, which had just been erected, and massacred all the Christians whom they found assembled there.

At the same time, the Frankic diet was assembled at Worms, under the presidency of Charles. They considered the massacre of the Christians at Deventer as a national aggression, and immediately declared war on the Saxons. This war, the most ferocious, the most terrible, that the Franks ever maintained, endured for thirty-three years. Wedekind, one of the petty kings of the Westphalians, was distinguished from his countrymen by his courage, his perseverance, and his implacable hatred of the Franks: he deserved to be regarded as a worthy antagonist of Charlemagne; and though he did not unite all his countrymen under his sway as a monarch, he soon obtained the foremost rank in their councils and their armies. But few pitched battles were fought between the two nations: when Charlemagne advanced across the country, with forces infinitely superior to those which the Saxons could collect, Wedekind, with his bravest followers, retreated behind the Elbe, and even into Denmark; while the remaining

Saxons promised submission, gave hostages, and consented to receive baptism, — for that, in the eyes of Charlemagne, was the sign of obedience and of civilisation. Indeed, in other respects, the Frankic monarch scarcely changed the organisation of Saxony. He left to the people their petty kings, with the title of Counts; their laws and internal government, which were very nearly the same as those of his own subjects. In proportion as he advanced, however, he built cities, and founded churches and bishoprics, to which he annexed vast grants of land.

When the term of military service of the freemen had expired, and Charles retired, Wedekind returned at the head of his body of emigrants, raised the country anew, burnt the churches, and often carried his incursions into France; and, by way of reprisal, cruelly devastated the whole banks of the Rhine.

The obstinacy of the Saxons; their contempt of the engagements they had entered into; their frequent relapses into the ancient national faith, — to the worship celebrated at the Irmensul, or Heermann-Sæule (pillar of the chieftain), — which, after they had received baptism, was treated by Charlemagne as apostasy; exasperated the Frankic monarch, and this part of his history is sullied by two or three acts of detestable cruelty. The first period of the war extended from 772 to 780: it had been terminated by a great victory obtained by Charles at Buchholz, after which the three confederations of the Saxons had accepted terms of peace. The empire of the Franks had been extended as far as the Elbe; and several new cities, particularly Paderborn, indicated the progress of civilisation in Northern Germany; but Wedekind, who was in Denmark, returned into Saxony in 782, raised the whole country, and defeated Charles's generals. Charles, victorious in his turn, demanded that all those accused by their countrymen of inciting this renewal of hostilities, should be given up to him. Four thousand five hundred were delivered into his hands, and he caused them all

to be beheaded in the same day, in the autumn of 782, at Verden, on the banks of the Aller.

This atrocious act served only to exasperate the hatred of the Saxons, and, to give to the war a character of ferocity which it had not previously displayed. During three years (A. D. 783—785), more numerous engagements, two great general battles, and frightful ravages, continued even into the heart of the winter, desolated Saxony, while at the same time they exhausted the army of the Franks: more blood was shed in three years, than in the nine of the preceding war. At length, however, Wedekind saw that a longer resistance would but aggravate the sufferings of his unhappy country: he demanded peace; received baptism; and, trusting to the honour and generosity of Charlemagne, repaired to his palace of Attigny on the Aisne, whence he departed loaded with presents.

Wedekind was faithful to the engagements he had contracted, and the war in Saxony was suspended for eight years. In 793, it broke out again, in consequence of a general insurrection of the Saxon youth, who had taken no share in the previous conflicts, and who thought that it was reserved for them to recover the national independence, and to avenge the national honour. This last revolt was not completely subdued till the year 804. Charles's only expedient for subjugating these haughty and intrepid people, was to demand of every village — almost of every family — hostages chosen from among the boldest and most high-spirited of their young men. He transported them into the various half-deserted provinces of Gaul and Italy; where, severed by immense distances from the country and all the associations of their birth, they at length insensibly adopted the manners and sentiments of their conquerors.

But the wounds inflicted by the sword, however cruel, heal more rapidly than the wasting ulcer of bad laws. Saxony — a country conquered after such long and desolating wars — will re-appear before us, after the next generation, much more populous, more warlike, and

more in a condition to defend herself, than Gaul, which had triumphed over her in such repeated attacks. It was in the midst of these massacres, these ravages,—of all the violences and miseries attendant on military conquest, that the north of Germany passed from barbarism to civilisation; that new cities were founded in the midst of vast forests; that laws were recognised by those who had long made it their glory to acknowledge no law; that a certain acquaintance with letters was the result of the spread of Christianity; lastly, that the arts and the enjoyments of private life were introduced as far as the Elbe, by the frequent travels and long residences of rich and powerful persons, whom Charlemagne led in his train to the extremities of Germany.

We have hitherto contemplated Charlemagne only in the character of a successful warrior: his administration, and the re-modelling of the empire, will form the subject of another chapter.

## CHAP. XVII.

EXTENSION OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE. — BAVARIA, HUNGARY, SPAIN. — FRIENDSHIP OF POPE ADRIAN FOR CHARLEMAGNE. — HIS DEATH. — POPE LEO III. — CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIM. — HIS VISIT TO CHARLES AT PADERBORN. — CHARLEMAGNE'S PUBLIC ENTRY INTO ROME. — HIS CORONATION AS EMPEROR OF THE WEST. — EFFECT ON THE GOVERNMENT AND NATION OF THE FRANKS. — ENCOURAGEMENT GIVEN BY CHARLEMAGNE TO ARTS AND LETTERS. — MUSICAL REFORMS. — MAGNIFICENCE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE. — ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMICAL REGULATIONS IN THE CAPITULARIES OF CHARLEMAGNE. — EVILS RESULTING FROM SLAVERY. — EXTENT OF GRANTS TO THE CROWN VASSALS. — MODE OF RECRUITING THE ARMY. — ITS FATAL EFFECTS. — INSTITUTION OF MISSI DOMINICI. — LAWS OF CHARLEMAGNE. — FRONTIERS OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE. — RELATIONS OF THE THREE EMPIRES. — STATE OF THE GREEK EMPIRE. — CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS. — ICONOCLAST CONTROVERSY. — LEO IV. — HIS DEATH. — IRENE. — HER AMBITION AND CRIMES. — PROJECT OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN HER AND CHARLEMAGNE. — DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE SARACENS. — OMMIADES. — FATIMIDES. — ABBASSIDES. — MERVAN II. — MASSACRE OF THE OMMIADES BY ABUL ABBAS. — KHALIPHATE OF THE WEST. — KINGDOM OF FEZ. — ABBASIDE, OR EASTERN KHALIPHS. — HARUN AL RASCHID. — HIS LOVE OF LEARNING. — HIS EMBASSIES TO CHARLEMAGNE. — DIVISION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE AMONG HIS THREE SONS, BY CHARLEMAGNE. — HIS CHARACTER AS A FATHER. — EDUCATION OF HIS CHILDREN. — EGINHARD AND EMMA. — DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE'S TWO SONS. — CHANGE IN THE SUCCESSION. — LOUIS, KING OF AQUITAINE, PROCLAIMED EMPEROR AND KING. — HIS CORONATION AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE. — DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE. A. D. 800—814.

We have taken a brief survey of the history of the two most important conquests of Charlemagne: that which subjected to his authority the whole of Italy, as far as the frontiers of the duchy of Benevento, with the un-

important provinces in possession of the Greeks; and that which, in the first instance devastated, and afterwards civilised, Saxony. The latter extended the frontiers of the emperor of the Franks to the north-east, as far as the Elbe.

We shall enter into still less detail respecting the subsequent wars of this great king: they were less impressed with the character of his genius, and less connected with the history of civilisation. Having once attained the vast power which he exercised over France, Germany, and Italy, he had no need to plan conquests, which followed of themselves. The power of the surrounding nations bore so little proportion to his own, and so far were they from meditating a struggle with the empire of the Franks, or an attempt at its subversion, that they seemed to have no other object than that of supplanting each other in their master's favour, and of forming a more intimate connection with the Franks, the more effectually to gratify their mutual spirit of animosity and revenge.

Charles would have probably confined himself within the new boundaries which gave a more compact form to his monarchy; but the Slavonians, who inhabited the other side of the Elbe, summoned each other, with mutual recriminations, before his tribunal. It was at their instigation that he marched his army to the Oder, and even beyond it.

The duke of Bavaria was also accused by his rivals; and, sentence having been pronounced against him by his peers, at the diet of Ingelheim, he was deposed in 788; Bavaria was united to the rest of Germany; and the Franks, whose territory thus touched the frontiers of the Avars and the Huns, penetrated into the country now called Hungary, and advanced upon the lower Danube, as far as the frontiers of the Greek empire. The petty Moorish or Christian princes of the Spanish border were not less assiduous at the court of Charlemagne, nor less eager to accuse and attack each other for the benefit of

France; they, in fact, compelled him to extend to the Ebro the new French province, which was designated by the name of the Spanish Marches.

These conquests, which daily became more easy and more stable, and separated the enemies of the Franks from each other by so immense a distance, as to render all union or co-operation against Charlemagne impossible, laid the foundation of the new empire of the West, the name of which was restored by pope Leo III., on Christmas-day, in the year 800. Since the conquest of Italy in 774, the two popes, Adrian, and after him Leo, had constantly acted as the lieutenants of Charlemagne. They kept up a regular correspondence with him; watched his ministers, and employed spies to discover not only the intrigues, but even the sentiments, of the Greeks and Lombards, against whom they sought to heighten the resentment of Charlemagne, that they might afterwards divide the spoil. Adrian, especially, whose reign was very long (A. D. 772—795) manifested a degree of enmity to the Lombard dukes, whom Charlemagne had protected in the exercise of their functions, which at length excited his distrust. Whatever was his devotedness to the church, he had sufficient discrimination to distinguish between the passions of priests and the interests of Christendom. He had endeavoured to ascertain the truth or falsehood of a scandalous accusation against the pope. The dukes in the vicinity of Rome asserted that the pontiff sold his vassals to Saracen merchants, who sent them as slaves into Spain and Africa. The pope acknowledged (A. D. 780) that this traffic in Christians had taken place in his port of Cività Vecchia; but he retorted the accusation upon his accusers, declaring that the Lombards had been compelled by famine to sell each other. The question was never satisfactorily cleared up; and Charlemagne, although he treated the pope with every mark of respect, ceased from that time to follow his counsels.

Leo III., the successor of Adrian, had neither evinced

less devotedness to Charles, nor betrayed less personal ambition. He had, however, excited a violent resentment at Rome. A conspiracy had been formed against him in 799, by some priests. He had been arrested and wounded: it was even reported that the conspirators had torn out his eyes and tongue, and that he had immediately recovered them by a miracle. He escaped, after some hours, from the hands of his enemies, and, on the invitation of Charles, visited that monarch at Paderborn—the centre of the recent conquests which he had achieved for Christianity. It was there resolved that Charlemagne should take a new journey into Italy, and punish the conspirators; and there, probably, was arranged the solemn coronation which Leo III. was preparing for Charlemagne; though this project was enveloped in profound secrecy, lest it should disgust the Franks and other barbarian nations, who had hitherto acknowledged Charlemagne as their chief. On the 24th of November, A.D. 800, Charlemagne made his entry into Rome. Seven days after, before an assembly of Frankic and Roman lords, he permitted Leo III. to exculpate himself, on oath, from the accusation preferred against him; and upon the authority of this single testimony of his innocence, he condemned his enemies to death, as calumniators and conspirators. In return for these marks of favour, on Christmas-day, after performing mass in the church of the Vatican, before Charles and the assembled people, Leo advanced towards him, and placed a golden crown upon his head. Immediately the clergy and the pope exclaimed, according to the formula observed for the Roman emperors,—"Long life and victory to the august Charles, crowned by God great and pacific emperor of the Romans!" These acclamations and this crown were considered as expressing the revival of the empire of the West, after an interruption of 324 years from the period when Augustulus was deposed.

In receiving the imperial crown, Charlemagne might be said to adopt the recollections of Rome and of the empire. By this act he declared himself the represent-

ative of ancient civilisation, of social order, and legitimate authority, and not of the barbaric conquerors, who founded all their rights upon the sword. By thus allowing their chief to receive a Roman dignity in exchange for the rank which he held from them, the Franks unconsciously subjected themselves to be treated like the Romans. The chancery of Charlemagne adopted all the pompous titles of the court of Byzantium; and the nobles and councillors of the new emperor no longer approached him without placing one knee on the ground, and kissing his foot.

Whatever opinion may be formed concerning an etiquette, which, perhaps, Charles himself despised, he at least evinced great zeal in his efforts to administer the government of his kingdom according to law, and to revive a taste for science, literature, and the useful arts. He gave a new impulse to that vast portion of Europe which submitted to his sway; and though its action was for a long time suspended or paralysed, from him may be dated the birth of modern civilisation.

It was in Italy more especially, that Charles sought teachers, for the purpose of re-establishing the public schools, which, throughout the whole of France, had fallen into decay.

"He assembled at Rome," says his historiographer, the monk of Angoulême, "masters versed in the arts of grammar and arithmetic, whom he brought into France, enjoining them to encourage and diffuse a taste for letters; for, before the reign of our lord Charles, no attention had been paid in France to the liberal arts." At the same time, Charles wrote to all the bishops and convents to resume those studies, which had been too much neglected. "In the writings," said he, "frequently addressed to us by the convents of late years, while we admired the good sense of the monks, we observed that their style was uncultivated; that what a pious devotion faithfully dictated internally, they were unable to express externally, without betraying their neglect and ignorance of language. Our wish is," he

added, "that you should all be, what all soldiers of the church ought to be, inwardly devout, outwardly learned; chaste, that you may live well; erudite, that you may speak well."

Among the revolutions in art accomplished by Charlemagne, must be mentioned that of music. This may be particularly attributed to the importance attached to church singing, and to the substitution of the Gregorian for the Ambrosian chant. It was not, however, without difficulty, that the united authority of the emperor and the pope triumphed over the habits and the obstinacy of the Frankic priests: orders, threats, were insufficient; it was necessary to seize and burn, by main force, all the books or antiphonaries of the Ambrosian ritual. Charlemagne went so far as to yield to the solicitations of the pope, and condemned to the flames some of the singers as well as the music. The Frankic priests at length submitted to adopt the Roman mode of singing. "Only," says a chronicler of that time, "the Franks, whose voices were naturally rough and barbarous, could not execute the trills and cadences, nor the alternately sustained and interrupted sounds of the Romans; they rather broke them in their throats, than uttered them. Two normal schools of religious music were founded for the whole empire: one in the palace of the emperor, which adjoined his chapel, and which was at last fixed at Aix-la-Chapelle—whence, probably, the French name of that city; the other at Metz.

The other fine arts were also patronised by Charles; and his taste in this respect is the more remarkable, as every sentiment of art seemed obliterated from the minds of his contemporaries: but the sight of Rome had struck him with admiration; and he felt a desire to transplant to the confines of Germany the beauties which so impressively marked the ancient grandeur of Rome. At the beginning of his reign, he changed his residence every winter; nor, since the abandonment of Paris by its kings, had any preference indicated which was the capital of France. As, however, he advanced in age,

he became more attached to Aix-la-Chapelle. He adorned that city with sumptuous edifices, palaces, churches, bridges, and new streets: he even supplied it from Ravenna with marble, and with statues, the beauty of which had particularly excited his admiration. Hydraulic architecture attracted, in its turn, his attention. He formed a project of connecting the Rhine and the Danube by a navigable canal, and pursued it with great ardour and perseverance; but, after the expenditure of immense sums, he was compelled to relinquish it; either because art was not yet sufficiently advanced, or because the measures adopted were not judiciously conceived.

Even the details of domestic economy were the objects of the care and the legislation of Charlemagne. His revenues were mainly drawn from landed estates of immense extent. These estates were dispersed through every part of his empire, and inhabited by a numerous class of subjects called Fiscalins. The serfs of the fisc, or royal treasury, were of a rather higher order than those of the nobles: Charles published a law, or Capitulary, for their government, which contains the most important information respecting the civilisation of Europe at that period. He assigned to each royal city a judge, who also filled the office of steward and administrator. The judge received all the produce in kind, and sold it for the benefit of the monarch. As a proof of the attention which Charles paid to the most minute details, the order which he gave to these judges, to breed hens and geese, to sell their eggs, and to cultivate every kind of fruit and vegetables in his gardens and immense estates, has often been quoted.

These judges, however, exercised far more important functions, for they fixed the vocation of every man under their authority. The emperor determined that each of his royal cities should contain a certain number of men of all the professions and trades specified by him, from the highest to the lowest. Upon the judge devolved the duty of selecting, among the fiscal slaves, those whom he thought best qualified for each of these

occupations, and to bind them out as apprentices, and thus provide a supply of hands for all the trades. On every occasion, rule and authority were substituted for personal interest; and what among us is done from voluntary enterprise, was done by order in the empire of Charlemagne.

In a reign which had already lasted more than thirty years, Charles had communicated an impulse which rapidly accelerated the progress of civilisation. Extending his protection equally to public education, to literature, arts, and laws, he could not have failed to raise the character of the nation, had he fixed it upon a broader basis. Unfortunately, the benefit of these improvements was confined to the extremely small minority of freemen, who, lost amid thousands of slaves, soon relapsed into the barbarism by which they were universally surrounded. Slavery — the consuming canker of great states — which had already effected the ruin of the Roman empire, was equally destructive to that of Charlemagne, and drew upon it those unparalleled disasters which quickly followed his brilliant reign. Nor ought we, perhaps, to blame the legislator for this: for neither he nor his subjects were more competent to conceive (what had never existed) a society without slaves, than we to conceive a society without poor. In the only form of society known at that period, the exhaustion produced by slavery was the consequence of property itself. The increase of riches was inevitably followed by the absorption of the small properties by the great; by the multiplication of slaves, and the absolute discontinuance of all free labour. When freemen were unable to maintain themselves in idleness by the labour of others, rather than be confounded with slaves in the common employments of husbandry, they sold their little inheritance to some rich neighbour, and joined the army: their families soon became extinct.

The more the emperor extended his conquests, the greater was the quantity of disposable land with which he could reward his servants: the more their ambition

was gratified, the more they thought themselves entitled to still larger grants. According to the notions of those times, jurisdiction—indeed, sovereignty itself—was so blended with property, that each of the dukedoms, earldoms, and lordships that Charles conferred on his captains, was not merely a government, but a patrimony, stocked with slaves who laboured for their masters. In his grants to the convents, we invariably find that he gives them lands "with all the inhabitants, their houses, slaves, meadows, fields, movables, and immovables." Several thousands of families were doomed to labour to maintain a courtier; and the learned Alcuin, whom Charles had enriched by his liberality, though he had not raised him to a level with the dukes and bishops of his court, had twenty thousand slaves under his orders.

By consulting the collection of the laws of Charlemagne, known under the name of Capitularies, we see more clearly how it was that the free population of his empire necessarily disappeared, to make room for a servile population. One of the principal objects of these laws was to show how every Frank must contribute to the defence of his country; march when the *heerbann* (the summons to the army) was proclaimed, or suffer severe punishment if he failed in this duty. All the proprietors of a *manse* of land were called out to serve in the army. The *manse*, valued at twelve acres, seems to have been considered sufficient for the maintenance of a servile family; but he only who possessed three or more *manses*, was obliged to march in person: he who possessed only one, was to join with three of his equals in providing a soldier. This gratuitous military service necessarily led to the ruin of the freemen. The soldier was obliged to procure arms at his own expense: he was required to present himself with a lance and shield, or with a bow, two strings, and twelve arrows. He was also to bring a sufficient quantity of provisions for his subsistence till he joined the army; after which he received an allowance, or rations, for three months,

from the treasury. This service was not regarded as excessive under the Merovingian kings, when wars were not frequent, and the soldier was not marched to a great distance from his home. But under Charlemagne, when every year was marked by some new expedition, and when the Frankic army, called to take the field against the Saracens, Danes, or Huns, traversed the whole of Europe and underwent the inconveniences of every climate, gratuitous service was attended with the most intolerable vexations. Families in circumstances of ease and comfort were soon plunged into poverty; the population rapidly declined; liberty and property were a burden rather than an advantage. Whoever, after a summons, neglected to join the army, was punished by a fine* of sixty golden sous; and as this sum generally exceeded his means, he was reduced to a state of temporary slavery till he paid it. This law, if rigorously executed, would, of itself, have sufficed to occasion the rapid disappearance of the whole class of freemen. As a mitigation, the legislator allowed the person whose misfortune it was to die in this state of slavery, to be considered as having discharged this fine, so that his property was not seized, nor his children reduced to captivity.

The most important political innovation introduced by Charlemagne into the administration of his kingdom, was the creation of the imperial deputies named *missi dominici*. These were two officers — one an ecclesiastic, the other a layman, both of high rank — to whom Charles assigned the inspection of a district composed of a certain number of earldoms or counties. Their office was to enquire into the conduct of the judges and counts; to regulate the finances; to receive and examine the accounts of the royal cities, the revenues of which constituted the principal riches of the sovereign. They were to visit each county every three months, and hold assizes for the

* The fine itself from a common enough misuse of language, has been commonly called *heribannum*. The arrière-ban is a corruption of this. — *Transl.*

administration of justice. "They are also," says the legislator, "to be present in the middle of May, each in his legation, attended by all our bishops, abbots, counts, and vassals, attorneys, and vidames of abbeys. Every count shall be attended by his vicars, centenaries, and three or four of his principal echevins, or aldermen. After having examined into the state of the Christian religion, and that of the ecclesiastical orders, the deputies shall enquire in what manner those invested with power discharge their duties; whether they govern the people according to the will of God and to our orders, and whether they act in concert."

Charlemagne had not attempted to give to his people a new civil or criminal code: on the contrary; he confirmed the right which his subjects claimed, to be governed according to their national laws, and convicted solely on the testimony of men, or by the judgment of God; thus excluding all proceedings by inquest or torture, which the example of the ecclesiastical courts introduced at a much later period. Charles republished, with some corrections and additions, the ancient laws of the Salians, Ripuarians, Lombards, Saxons, and other subjugated nations. He preserved the fundamental principle of all these laws — the compensation of crimes by fines — only subjecting some of them to a higher tariff; as, for instance, offences against the clergy, which were punished with increased severity. The examination of all these laws leaves no doubt respecting the frequency of atrocious crimes; and in proportion as either the codes of barbarians, or those of Charlemagne, are studied with attention, we arrive at the conviction that the civilisation so often unfavourably contrasted with the simplicity of the good old times, was the only remedy for the profound corruption of morals which marked the ages of semi-barbarism.

The examination of the labours of Charlemagne as a legislator, adds, unquestionably, to the idea we have formed of his genius. We find him every where es-

tablishing order and regularity, and extending his powerful protection to every part of his states; but, in the midst of his greatest glory, it is not difficult to foresee the inevitable ruin of all these institutions, if we keep in view that the nation of the Franks was, at that period, exclusively composed of proprietors of men and of land: they alone were rich and independent, consulted on public affairs, admitted to the discussions of the Champ de Mai, and to service in the army. In proportion as their riches, which were all territorial, increased, their number decreased. The apparent progress of opulence was a symptom of a diminution of real strength, because every new rich man represented and replaced several ancient free families. It should, therefore, excite no surprise that the mass of the people attracted scarcely any notice; that they took no interest in their affairs; were conscious neither of energy nor of thought; nor that the nation passed in an instant from the height of power to the last degree of abasement. Some thousands of noblemen, lost among millions of brutalised slaves, who had scarcely a claim to a country or even to the dignity of man, were incompetent, by their own unaided efforts, to preserve to France either her laws, her power, or her liberty.

The frontiers of the new empire of the West in Italy and Illyria, met those of the Eastern empire. The navigation of the Latins likewise forced them to maintain some commercial intercourse with the empire of the khaliphs of Syria. In spite of national prejudices and religious animosities, the three empires which divided the civilised world, considered each other as equals; and the relations of Charlemagne with the courts of Constantinople and of Bagdad, were unquestionable evidence of the rank to which the monarchy of the Franks had raised itself.

At Constantinople, three sovereigns of the Isaurian race had successively occupied the throne of the East, from 717 to 780. Leo III. had courageously repulsed the Saracens. Constantine Copronymus, whom the

Catholics have represented as a tyrant, was, perhaps, cruel in his persecution of the worshippers of images; but during his long reign (from 741 to 774), he gave ample evidence of activity and courage. He had waged war by turns upon the banks of the Euphrates and of the Danube; he had taught the Greeks, that the ancient prejudice which retained their sovereigns prisoners in the palace, was not less fatal to the princes than to the people; and that a monarch lost nothing of his dignity by heading his legions on horseback, and leading them himself against the enemy. His wise administration had restored plenty to the Greek provinces; and by means of new colonies, he had repeopled the deserts of Thrace. Leo IV., his son, during his shorter reign (from 775 to 780), had shown less strength of character; but he was not devoid of the qualities which had distinguished the Isaurian race, and which, after so long a series of calamities, had restored, in the eighth century, the glory and power of the Eastern empire.

But the three Isaurian emperors, who had seen with indignation Christianity degenerate into idolatry, had been, during the whole of their reigns, involved in a dangerous war against the worshippers of images; against the monks and priests, who made a scandalous traffic of the protection of these household gods, and of the miracles they pretended to perform by their intercession. The emperors thought they could reform the church by their edicts, and attempted to arrest the progress of this superstition by threats, severity, and punishments. The religious passion they combated, derived additional force from opposition; and they themselves, misguided by the animosity excited during a long struggle, transgressed all bounds of moderation, and rendered themselves odious to their subjects by their intolerance. Their reign was unceasingly agitated by seditions: the monks continually incited their subjects to revolt; and when the seditious were punished for their audacity, they were revered as martyrs. Irri-

tated by their preaching, their abuse, and their plots, Leo IV. carried his persecution so far as to inflict the punishment of death upon some of the worshippers of images. During the heat of his resentment, he discovered, even in his wife's bed, two images to which she had offered secret worship (Feb. 710). Leo took cruel vengeance on those who had introduced into his own palace a superstition which he held in abhorrence: he expressed his indignation at the conduct of Irene, and was preparing to take measures for her trial—perhaps for her death—when suddenly, in attempting to place upon his head a crown consecrated by his wife to the crucifix, his skin became covered with black pustules wherever the crown touched it; he was seized with a burning fever, and died in a few hours. All the ecclesiastical writers have represented this as a miracle wrought to avenge the offended deity.

Irene, who, there is every reason to believe, had assisted in the performance of this miracle,—probably the only means which could have saved her,—was still not entirely out of danger. She caused herself to be crowned, together with her son, Constantine V., who was not more than ten or twelve years old, reserving to herself the sole authority. But she had against her, all the grandees, jealous of the power of a woman; all the partisans of the late emperor, who had not much faith in miracles, which so conveniently dispose of kings; all the high iconoclast clergy; all the public functionaries raised to power by her predecessors, and all the Isaurians. Irene sought protection in the populace, who were under the guidance of the monks. She re-established the worship of images with great pomp; honoured as martyrs those who had suffered under the iconoclasts; shut up the brothers of her husband in convents; put to death some whom she accused of conspiracy; and thus obtained a high reputation for piety and zeal in the cause of orthodoxy.

The popes had invariably taken part against the iconoclast emperors. They had aided Irene with all their

power; and the second council of Nice, assembled by this empress, having in 787 re-established and confirmed the worship of images, Adrian, whose legates had presided in this council, transmitted its acts to the assembly of the Western church, which Charlemagne convoked at Frankfurt in 794, that they might be recognised as proceeding from an œcumenical council, and having the force of ecclesiastical law.

The Western churches had abstained neither from the superstitions nor the subtleties which disfigured Christianity; but they had invariably rejected with horror the worship of images, as an act of idolatry. It is probable that the almost absolute ignorance or neglect of the fine arts had contributed to preserve the Franks and Germans from the adoration of these gods made with man's hands. Images were seldom seen in their churches, while they adorned all the temples of the Greeks. At least, the chronicles of the time, and the lives of the saints, when speaking of the Latin church, never mention that protection granted to a particular person or country by a miraculous image, so continually referred to in the history of the church of the Greeks. In the West, all these local miracles were attributed to relics, as they were in the East to images. The worship of the bones of the saints was more in accordance with the barbarism and the gloomy northern imaginations of the Teutonic people, as that of their resemblance was with the refinement and taste of the Greeks. The church of Rome availed itself of either indifferently; and although, even in Italy, images were much more rare than in Greece, they were much less so than beyond the Alps. The popes were indebted to this quarrel for their sovereignty in Italy; as they were to the adoration of relics for the treasures which they every year received from France and Germany, in exchange for the bones taken from the catacombs.

But the influence of the pope was not sufficient to secure the reception, in the Western church, of the doctrine which he had himself found so profitable. The

fathers assembled at Frankfurt expressed their indignation at the idolatry attempted to be introduced into Christendom. "It has been thought proper," say they, "to refer to the assembly the question of the new synod of the Greeks, on the subject of the worship of images, in which it is written, that those who refuse to offer to the images of the saints the same worship and adoration as to the divine Trinity, shall be anathematised; but our most holy fathers above mentioned, rejecting, in every respect, the adoration service (the worship of *latria* and *dulia*), despised and condemned them with one accord."

The entire church seemed divided: three hundred and fifty bishops had subscribed to the council of Nice; three hundred subscribed to that of Frankfurt. The latter was, besides, supported by the powerful authority of Charlemagne, who himself dictated a treatise against the worship of images, known under the title of the *Carolinian Books*.

Adrian had no mind to expose himself to the displeasure of such a protector. He endeavoured to evade the question; to discriminate, where there was no distinction; to show that the infallible council of Frankfurt had been still more mistaken as to facts than as to principles; that the council held at Nice (not at Constantinople) had not said what the Germans imputed to it; and that, in spite of the contradictory declarations of these two assemblies, the unity of faith of the church was not shaken: in short, he succeeded in silencing the discussion. The two councils are recognised as having the authority of law in the church. The two doctrines repose in peace beside each other: for France and Germany, although they have not expelled images from their temples, pay them no religious worship; while Italy and Spain have confirmed the adoration of images, and daily celebrate some miracle of their local divinities.

From the beginning of her reign, the empress Irene had sought the friendship of the powerful monarch of the Latins, and had entertained the project of bringing

about a marriage between her son and one of the daughters of Charlemagne: but—whether the dispute concerning images had occasioned any coolness between them, or whether Irene, actuated by jealousy towards her son, thought it imprudent to procure him so powerful an ally—the treaty was broken off in an offensive manner. Constantine VI. married an Armenian princess; and some hostilities upon the frontiers of the duchy of Benevento were the consequences of this rupture between the Greeks and the Franks.

On the other hand, the ambitious Irene, who had so exactly chosen the favourable moment for getting rid of her husband, that she might reign in the name of her son, could not submit to share the authority with him, when he had attained the age of manhood. A long protracted struggle ensued between the mother and the son, during which Irene was banished to Athens, the place of her birth. By feigning unconditional submission, she at length induced Constantine to recall her to the court of Constantinople, where she employed her ascendancy over him in leading him into oblique and perilous courses.

In the year 792, the emperor had punished a conspiracy of his uncles against him, by depriving two of their sight and cutting off the noses of the other four. In January, 795, he repudiated the Armenian Maria, whom he charged with conspiracy, and married in her place one of her attendants, named Theodora. Irene herself had urged him to gratify this new passion; while at the same time she denounced him to the clergy, and especially to the monks, over whom she preserved unlimited influence, for having violated the laws and discipline of the church. By these artifices, she succeeded in exciting the priests and bigots to sedition, and in organising plots both in the capital and provinces. At last the conspirators, under her direction, seized the unfortunate Constantine, on the 15th of June, 797; dragged him into the chamber in which he was born; and tore out his eyes with such barbarous violence, that he expired a short time after in horrible agonies.

Irene was then placed on the throne; and, for the first time, the Roman world was governed by a woman, who ruled not as a regent or guardian, but in her own proper right. The church shut its eyes to Irene's crimes, in consideration of her having re-established the worship of images, which her son had lately interdicted; and the Greeks assigned her a place among the saints in their calendar. But the supposed weakness of a female reign was probably what emboldened Leo III. to dispose of the crown of the East, as if it had been his own; or suggested to him a scheme more extravagant still,—that of uniting by marriage the empire he had just re-established, with that which had stood the shock of ages. In 801, whilst Charles, who had passed a year in widowhood, was in Italy for his coronation, he demanded the hand of Irene; and though this ambitious princess was far from intending to compromise her power, by dividing it with a husband, the negotiation, which continued for a long time, contributed to preserve peace between the two empires.

The relations which subsisted between the empire of Charlemagne, and that of the Saracens, forms a characteristic part of his history. His territories bordered upon theirs in Spain; he found them again in Africa, along the whole line of coast opposite to the shores of France and Italy; and his subjects carried on an extensive commerce with them in the Levant. But the Saracens had ceased to form a single empire. Just at the time when the Carlovingian dynasty succeeded the ancient royal line of France, the house of the Abbasides had succeeded that of the Ommiades in the East. The colossus that had bestridden the whole South was now broken, and the Musulmans were no longer objects of terror to all their neighbours. This revolution did more for the deliverance of Europe from the Musulman arms, than even the battle of Poictiers. Romance writers are therefore guilty of an anachronism, in making Charlemagne the champion of Christendom; for, in his time, the perils to which it had been exposed were past.

The Ommiades, who for the space of ninety years (661—750) had ruled with so much glory in the empire of the Faithful, had nevertheless always been considered, by a large party in the East, as usurpers; they were reproached with being descendants of the most inveterate enemy of the prophet, whilst there still remained legitimate descendants of the branch of Hashemides, and even of his own blood. The Ommiades were distinguished by their white standards; the colour of the Fatimides, descendants of Ali and of Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, was green. At the time we speak of, their chiefs had either not sufficient ability or sufficient ambition to enforce their rights. But the descendants of Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, called Abbasides, whose banner was black, ultimately raised the whole East in their favour.

After long and cruel civil wars, Mervan II., the last of the Ommiades, in spite of the talents and virtues imputed to him, was defeated and killed in Egypt, on the 10th of February, 750. Abul Abbas, the first of the Abbasides, was appointed his successor by Abu-Moslem, the real chief of the party, the king-maker, as he is called, or the author of *the vocation of the Abbasides*. The throne of the new khaliph was strengthened by the victories of Abu-Moslem. The defeated Ommiades accepted the peace that was offered them, and relied with confidence on the oaths of their rival. Four and twenty members of the family were invited to Damascus, to a feast of reconciliation, which was to be the seal of a new alliance. They met without suspicion: they were massacred without mercy. The festive board was placed over their palpitating bodies while they yet breathed, and the orgies of the Abbasides were prolonged amidst the groans and agonies of their expiring rivals.

One only of the Ommiades escaped this butchery; he quitted Syria, and traversed Africa a fugitive: but in the valleys of Mount Atlas, he learned that the white flag was still triumphant in Spain. About the middle of August, therefore, 755, he presented himself to his

partisans on the coast of Andalusia, and was saluted by them as the true khaliph; the whole of Spain was soon subject to him, and his seat of government was fixed at Corduba. There he took the title of Emir al Mumenin, Commander of the Faithful; which the people of the West converted into the barbarous name Miramolin. He died after a glorious reign of thirty years. His son and his grandson, Hesham (A. D. 788—796) and Al Hacam (796—822), were the contemporaries of Charlemagne, and fought with success several times against his generals, and against his son, Louis le Débonnaire. The Ommiades of Spain retained the sovereignty of the Peninsula for two hundred and fifty years: their dynasty expired in 1038; and the division, at this period, of the Western khaliphate into a great number of small principalities, contributed much to facilitate the conquests of the Christians.

Towards the middle of the eighth century, an independent monarchy arose in Africa, that of the Edrisides of Fez, who declared themselves descendants of the Fatimide branch, and who recognised neither the Western nor the Eastern khaliph. In the year 801, Charlemagne received an embassy from their emir, or sultan, Ibrahim; and being then at war with the Ommiades in Spain, he was disposed to ally himself to their rivals in Africa and the East. These latter, the Abbaside khaliphs, notwithstanding the loss of so many vast provinces in the West, still retained a degree of power not unworthy the first successors of Mohammed; and the splendour of their court presented a remarkable contrast to the severe austerity of the first believers. The victorious Almanzor (754—775), his son, and two grandsons, Mahdi (775—785), Hadi (785, 786), and Harun al Rashid (786—809), were the contemporaries of the early Carlovingians. These were the monarchs who introduced the arts and the cultivation of science among the Arabs, and under whose influence their progress in the career of literature was as rapid as that which they had recently made in arms. Translations of all the scientific books

of the Greeks into Arabic were undertaken, and liberally rewarded by the khaliph. Harun al Rashid was always surrounded by learned men, and in all his travels he was attended by a numerous body of them. He made it a rule never to build a mosque without attaching a school to it; and his munificence is the source whence sprung those numerous Arabic writers by whom his age was illustrated. The memory of the two embassies from Harun al Rashid to Charlemagne, has been preserved to us by the writers of the West; the one in 801, the other in 807. The first ambassadors of Harun, with chivalrous politeness, bore the keys of the holy sepulchre as an offering to the greatest monarch professing the religion of Christ. The second brought as a present from the khaliph to Charles, a clock ornamented with automaton figures, which moved and played on various musical instruments; very much resembling those which are now made at Geneva for the Levant market. This is a proof, among others, that the seat of the mechanical arts, as well as of literature and science, has, in the course of ten centuries, been wholly changed. After the reign of Harun al Rashid, the empire of the khaliphs, the seat of which had been removed to Bagdad by Almanzor in 757, still maintained for several ages the glory of pre-eminence in literature and the arts, though it almost entirely relinquished its triumphs in arms. The foundation of the new dynasties of the Aglabides in Africa, the Fatimides in Egypt, the Taherides in Khorasan, the Soffarides in Persia, would soon throw us into absolute confusion, if we attempted to follow out such a labyrinth of almost unknown names and countries.

Meantime Charlemagne, dreaded by his enemies, respected by the whole world, became sensible of the approach of old age. He had three sons arrived at manhood, among whom he divided his monarchy, in presence of the diet of Thionville, in 806. To Charles, the eldest, he gave France and Germany; to Pepin, the second, Italy, Bavaria, and Pannonia; to Louis, the youngest, Aquitaine, Provence, and the marches of Spain.

At the same time he provided for his daughters: he had seven, perhaps eight, all remarkable for their beauty, and whom he had always treated with great tenderness. "He had devoted," says Eginhard, "much attention to the education of his children, and was desirous that his daughters, as well as his sons, should addict themselves to the same liberal studies which he had himself pursued. When his sons were of sufficient age, he accustomed them, according to the usage of the Franks, to ride on horseback, and to exercise themselves in arms and in the chase. To form his daughters to habits of industry, and counteract the pernicious influence of a life of ease and luxury, they were taught to work in wool, to handle the distaff and the spindle, and to employ themselves in all the works becoming their sex and age. His children always supped with him. His sons accompanied him on horseback when he travelled, his daughters followed; and the whole train was closed by the guards, who protected them. As they were very beautiful, and greatly beloved by him, it is strange that he never gave them in marriage to any of his nobles or allied princes. He kept them always with him till his death, declaring that he could not dispense with their society: yet, however happy in every other respect, through them he felt the malice of fortune. It is true, he dissembled his grief, and appeared as if slander had never raised its voice, or breathed the slightest suspicion upon them." It is said that the historian, from whom we borrow these particulars, was not a stranger to the failings to which he alludes; and that the fair Emma, one of the daughters of Charlemagne, carried her lover, Eginhard, on her shoulders, in the morning, that his footsteps in the snow might not betray his nocturnal visits to her pavilion. This anecdote has been preserved in the convent founded by Eginhard himself.

If Charlemagne bore with resignation the misconduct of his daughters, to whom he had always set a dangerous example, he betrayed the feelings of a true and tender father, when he had the misfortune to lose, successively,

his eldest and favourite daughter, Rotrude; his second son, Pepin, who died at Milan, on the 4th of July, 810; and, lastly, his eldest son Charles, who died at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 4th of December, 811. Fortitude in sustaining domestic sorrows was at that time regarded as a mark of the greatness of soul which was expected of a hero; hence the profound grief of Charlemagne, and the tears he was seen to shed for the loss of his children, excited more censure than compassion.

The emperor, however, hastened to provide for the government of his states. His eldest son had left no children; but Pepin, the second, had one son and five daughters. Charles destined the son, Bernhard, to inherit the kingdom of Italy; and, having announced this intention in the Champ de Mai, assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, he sent him into Lombardy, accompanied by Walla, his bastard cousin, as his counsellor. At the same time he judged it prudent to transmit, during his lifetime, all his titles to his third son, Louis, king of Aquitaine. "For this purpose, in the presence of the states assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, in September, 813, he presented him," says an ancient chronicle, "to the bishops, abbots, counts, and senators of the Franks, requesting them to choose him king and emperor. To this all consented with one accord, saying, it would be well. And it pleased the people also; so that the empire was decreed to him by the delivering up of the golden crown, while the people cried out, 'Long live the emperor Louis!'" Charles, fearing that the pope, who had conferred upon him the title of emperor, would assert that his authority was necessary to confirm it to another, was desirous that his son, who belonged to the people of the West, to the army, and to its leaders, and who had been chosen by them, should hold his crown from God alone. He, therefore, caused a crown of gold similar to his own to be made, and to be placed upon the altar of the church of Aix-la-Chapelle. He then desired Louis to take it himself, and place it upon his own head. After this ceremony, he sent him back to Aquitaine.

Charles lost his strength earlier than might have been expected from the vigour of his constitution, or the active life he had led. His decline had long been perceptible; when, about the middle of January, 814, he was attacked by a fever on leaving the bath. During the seven days it lasted, he ceased to eat, and took nothing but a little water. On the seventh day he received the sacrament from the hand of Gildebald, his almoner. The following morning, he made a last effort to raise his feeble right hand to make the sign of the cross upon his head and breast; then, composing his limbs for his final rest, he closed his eyes, uttering with a low voice:—"*In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum,*" and expired.

This was on the 28th of January, 814. Charles was born in 742, and was in his seventy-second year. He reigned forty-seven years: thirty-three over the Lombards, and fourteen over the western empire. He was buried at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the church of St. Mary, founded by himself.

# CHAP. XVIII.

LOUIS LE DÉBONNAIRE. — HIS CHARACTER AND POPULARITY. — HIS REFORMS. — DIVISION OF THE GOVERNMENT WITH HIS SONS. — VACILLATIONS OF LOUIS. — REVOLT OF BERNHARD, KING OF ITALY. — HIS CRUEL DEATH. — JUDITH OF BAVARIA. — HER BEAUTY AND ASCENDENCY. — NATIONAL ASSEMBLIES. — PUBLIC CONFESSION AND PENANCE OF LOUIS. — DISCORD BETWEEN LOUIS AND HIS SONS, CHLOTHAIRE AND LOUIS. — UNIVERSAL DISORDER IN THE EMPIRE. — TRAFFIC IN CHRISTIAN CHILDREN. — EXTERNAL RELATIONS. — SCANDINAVIAN NATIONS. — KINGS OF DENMARK. — REVOLTS OF BRETONS AND GASCONS. — SPAIN. — ALPHONSO THE CHASTE. — ABDERRAHMAN. — ITALY. — CHLOTHAIRE. — DUKE OF BENEVENTO. — VENICE. — EASTERN FRONTIER. — SLAVONIC TRIBES. — DECLINE OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE. — MUSULMAN CONQUESTS. — CRETE. — SICILY. — DETHRONEMENT AND BANISHMENT OF IRENE. — NICEPHORUS. — LEO THE ARMENIAN. — HIS DEATH. — MICHAEL THE STAMMERER. — THEOPHILUS. — HIS CHARACTER AND DEATH. — CESSATION OF INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN EMPIRES. — REVOLT OF THE THREE SONS OF LOUIS. — DETHRONEMENT OF JUDITH. — ANTIPATHY BETWEEN THE GAULS AND THE FRANKS. — ATTACHMENT OF THE LATTER TO THE EMPEROR. — REACTION IN HIS FAVOUR. — HIS RECONCILIATION WITH HIS SONS. — RECALL OF JUDITH. — HER INTRIGUES. — DESERTION OF THE EMPEROR BY ALL HIS FOLLOWERS. — HIS PUBLIC DEGRADATION AND PENANCE. — DEATH OF PEPIN, KING OF AQUITAINE. — CONDUCT OF LOUIS. — INTRIGUES OF JUDITH AND CHLOTHAIRE. — ATTACKS OF THE NORMANS AND THE SARACENS ON THE COASTS OF FRANCE. — DEATH OF LOUIS LE DÉBONNAIRE. A. D. 814—840.

THE new sovereign of the empire of the West — whom the Latins, the Italians, and the Germans named the Pious*, the French le Débonnaire, — was thirty-six

* The Germans call him either Ludwig *der Fromme*, or *der Gütige*. *Fromm*, though it means pious, means also amiable, gracious. *Gütig* is kind, good-natured. In that part of the dominions of the king of England which he inherits from the dukes of Normandy, and where the Anglican service is performed in French, the words of the Liturgy, "our most gracious king, William," &c. are at this day rendered, "notre seigneur et gouverneur très-débonnaire, Guillaume," &c.—*Transl.*

years old at the death of his father. He had been married sixteen years to Ermengarde, daughter of Ingheramne, duke of Hasbaigne. She had already borne him three sons; Chlothaire (or, as it soon came to be spelt, Lothaire), Pepin, and Louis. During thirty-three years he had borne the title of king; for he was in his cradle when, in the year 781, his father sent him into Aquitaine, with the view of inducing the people of the south of Gaul to imagine that they had their sovereign in the midst of them. As soon as he was sufficiently advanced in age to afford any certain indications of his character, it was marked by sweetness, love of justice, beneficence; above all, by weakness. He had carried on a protracted war in the Pyrenees against the Gascons and the Moors, and had conducted himself with honour as a soldier; yet those who remarked his zeal for religion, his constant attention to the discipline of the church, already said of him, that he was better fitted for the convent than the throne; and Louis, who envied the devotion of his great uncle Karloman, who had abdicated sovereign power to become a monk of Monte Cassino, regarded their words as the highest praise that could be bestowed on him. For some time his beneficence so far exceeded his prudence that his finances were in considerable disorder; but these had been re-established with the assistance of his father, and his good management had enabled him to deliver the rural population from the destructive privilege claimed by the soldiery, of drawing their support from the peasantry. The people had the highest opinion of his virtue; and when, on the news of his father's death, he proceeded from Toulouse to Aix-la-Chapelle, he was received, in every place through which he passed, as a saviour come to put a period to the long sufferings of the empire.

Indeed, during the brilliant reign of Charlemagne, even under the protection of so great a man, disorder and oppression had increased in every province: the freemen had been ruined by continual wars; the nobles had abused their favour at court; they had despoiled their poorer neighbours of their inheritances; a great number of them

they had reduced to servitude. Many of the small proprietors had even voluntarily renounced a freedom they had no longer the power to defend, and had begged to be ranked amongst the slaves of the nobles, who promised them protection. Louis hastened to send throughout the empire fresh imperial messengers (*missi dominici*), to examine into the claims and petitions of those who had been robbed either of their patrimony or of their liberty; and the number of the oppressed who recovered their rights was found to exceed all belief. The mistrust of Charles had deprived the Saxons and the Frieslanders of the right of transmitting their property by bequest to their children. Louis repealed this odious prohibition, and placed them on the same footing with his other subjects. In the Spanish marches many Christian emigrants from Moorish Spain had obtained from Charles the grant of deserted lands recently conquered, and had brought them into cultivation; but the fields which had been rendered fertile by their own labours had been quickly seized by powerful nobles, who in some instances had obtained fresh grants from the emperor, in others had taken possession by force. Louis afforded his protection to these unhappy emigrants, and restored their property; but he had not sufficient power to secure to them its permanent possession: such was the audacity of the nobles, such the weakness of the vassals, that in spite of every security the monarch could give, the poor man was continually plundered.

Another reform effected by Louis was looked upon as indicating but little respect for his father's memory. Charles's palace at Aix-la-Chapelle sufficiently attested the dissoluteness of his morals. There he had lived, surrounded, even in old age, by his numerous mistresses. Under the same roof dwelt his seven daughters and his five nieces; all beautiful, and all equally distinguished for their gallantries. Before taking possession of this palace, Louis effected its evacuation by means of a military execution: he expelled without pity even the female attendants who had waited on Charlemagne in his last

illness; he forced his sisters and his cousins to retire to the seclusion of the convent; he condemned all their lovers, as guilty of high treason, either to exile or imprisonment, some of them, even to death. By these proceedings he gave a scandalous publicity to the disorders of his family, which had hitherto excited but little attention.

The immense extent of the empire imposed a burden on Louis which he found too heavy for him; and he hastened to lighten its weight by sharing it with his children. He confirmed Bernhard, his nephew, in the possession of the kingdom of Italy; he intrusted the government of Bavaria to the eldest of his sons, and that of Aquitaine to the second; the third was still too young to receive any share of power. The empire of the West, with three subordinate kings on its most exposed frontiers, appeared to be still governed in the same manner as in the time of Charlemagne; and many years elapsed before foreign nations perceived the immense difference between the men of the two generations. The armies of the empire were still as formidable; the neighbouring nations, jealous of each other, were still equally active in keeping a reciprocal watch over each other's movements, in announcing them to the emperor, and in obeying his orders. At the pleas of the kingdom, or national assemblies, which Louis le Débonnaire convoked very regularly, were to be seen ambassadors from the petty Visigothic princes, who were struggling among the strong-holds of the Pyrenees to save some part of Spain from the Musulman yoke; from the duke of Benevento, who sent tribute from Italy to the empire; from all the small Slavonic tribes, whether in Illyria, Bohemia, or Prussia, who sought the protection of the Franks; lastly, from the princes of Denmark, at that time distracted by a civil war and by a disputed succession to the crown. It could never have been imagined by a superficial observer, that this empire, so vast and so formidable, was already nodding to its fall.

One of the defects of Louis's character, was irresolution: he imagined he could correct this, and determine his own wavering intentions, by forming continual en-

gagements; he was constantly disposing of the future; and presently, from some fresh motive, or some new weakness, he altered what he professed to have irrevocably fixed. In 814, he had made a division of his kingdom amongst his children; in 817, he made a second, and assigned a share to each of his three sons; he took back from one the portion he had allotted to him, to give it to another. During the whole course of his reign, he was constantly occupied in rectifying and changing these partitions of territory among his children; then, after causing them to be confirmed by oaths of allegiance, tendered by the people and the clergy, he overthrew all he had appeared to be building up, and thus inspired his subjects with an extreme impatience of his continual vacillations, a distrust of the future, and a discontent, the effects of which he soon experienced; whilst ill-humour succeeded to the gratitude of his sons, who felt more injured when he reclaimed his gifts, than they had been touched or gratified at receiving them.

The person most offended, and not without considerable reason, by the partition of 817, was Bernhard, king of Italy. Towards his uncle he had shown the deference of a vicegerent governing a province in his name; but when Louis granted to his eldest son Lothaire the title of emperor, with pre-eminence over the three other kings, Bernhard complained of the injustice done him. Son of an elder brother of Louis, and himself the senior of his cousin Lothaire, the first rank amongst the Frankic princes belonged of right to him; and into his hands the sceptre of the empire should have passed; whether the law of succession adopted in the present day had been followed, or whether the preference had been given to the claim of seniority, the very rule by which his uncle had taken precedence of himself. A great number of bishops and of discontented nobles offered their services to Bernhard, to support his just pretensions. The young prince actually assembled troops: his uncle, on his side, sum-

moned soldiers from Germany; but Bernhard, who held a civil war in horror, accepted the first terms proposed to him; he hastened to Châlons to meet his uncle, threw himself at his feet, and begged pardon for his offence.

It was not without reason that Louis received the surname of Le Débonnaire: he seemed to be incapable of harbouring a feeling of resentment or of hatred; he often pardoned where it was his duty not to pardon; nevertheless, he committed at this time one of the most odious acts which stain the history of France. Bernhard, whose rights were equal to his own, had acknowledged himself guilty, from sentiments of filial deference alone; he had placed reliance on the promises he had received, and was awaiting an act of oblivion for his preparations for war: instead of a pardon, he received sentence of death upon himself and his principal adherents. It is true that Louis commuted the punishment, ordering only that his eyes should be put out: such a commutation, however, did but increase the cruelty of his punishment. Queen Ermengarde took care that the operation should be performed in so barbarous a manner, that the unhappy Bernhard died three days after from its effects.

Ermengarde, whose motive for depriving Bernhard of life was the wish to divide his inheritance amongst her children, died ere she had had time to reap the benefits of her cruelty, and Louis was not long in filling her place. In the beginning of the year 819, he married the beautiful and ambitious Judith, daughter of the count Guelf, of Bavaria. At an assembly of the most beautiful girls in his empire, which his clergy had advised him to call together, after the example of king Ahasuerus, Louis had distinguished the pre-eminent charms of Judith. The Frankic nation soon found cause to regret that the daughter of count Guelf was endowed with that singular beauty which gave her so absolute an ascendency over her husband.

It is true, the authority of Louis was by no means without restraints. No monarch of the Franks had

more regularly consulted the states, which he convoked twice in the year: but only the great barons amongst the laity and clergy were summoned upon these expensive journeys; and the dukes and counts, soon perceiving that the principal subjects of discussion were ecclesiastical affairs, and that, in a language which they did not understand, gave up their seats almost entirely to the bishops. The comitiæ of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the year 816, had been entirely occupied in reforming, in conformity with the observances of St. Benedict, the rules relating to canons and canonesses. At that assembled at Attigny, in the month of August, 822, Louis chose that the whole nation should be witness to his penance. He publicly declared that he had sinned against his nephew Bernhard, in suffering him to be treated with so much cruelty; that he had sinned against Adelhard, Walla, against the holy men and the bishops who had been Bernhard's counsellors, and whom he had exiled for taking part in his conspiracy; finally, that he had sinned against the natural sons of his father, when he forced them to enrol themselves members of different religious orders. He entreated pardon for his sins, of those of the prelates in question who were present, and submitted himself to the canonical penances.

At first it was touching to see this profound sentiment of remorse manifested after the lapse of four years, before an entire nation,—this voluntary self-humiliation, in one whom no tribunal could reach. But while remorse in a man possessed of great qualities offers to our admiration the noble triumph of conscience over pride, the repentance of a weak man is tinged with the weakness of his character. While he recalls his past offence, he excites the anticipation that another is at hand. The one accuses himself because he can find no peace within his own breast; the other, because he cannot obtain absolution at the confessional. The former is actuated by the thoughts of those whom he has made wretched, and of the reparation there may still be time to offer them. The latter thinks of nothing but himself, and the tortures with which he is threatened; repentance in him is but a personal cal-

culation; he would fain combine the hopes of the righteous with the advantages of guilt. When the self-humiliation of Louis before the priests at Attigny was beheld by the people, they concluded that he was not so much oppressed by grief, as indifferent to honour; and the nation began to feel that contempt for him, of which he had acknowledged himself deserving.

Other causes soon sprang up to increase this sentiment. On the 13th of June, 823, after a union of four years, Judith bore him a son, afterwards known by the name of Charles the Bald: but Judith's general conduct, and her familiarity with Bernhard, duke of Septimania, accredited amongst the Franks the idea that this child belonged to the favourite of the empress, and not to her husband. It is at least certain, that the absolute power exercised by Bernhard at the court; the deference shown by Louis for the friend of his wife; the trust which he reposed in him in preference to his own sons, of whom he was beginning to be jealous, rendered his government at once ridiculous and contemptible. Judith, who already had it in contemplation to get away from the elder sons of her husband such provinces as might be sufficient to form an appanage for the youngest, seized every opportunity of insulting those princes; and, if they ever betrayed their vexation, she strove to excite the anger and resentment of her husband against them. On occasion of a disastrous campaign, made by Pepin beyond the Pyrenees, she prevailed on Louis to condemn to death two counts who had been the king of Aquitaine's advisers; thus indirectly wounding the honour of the commander-in-chief, the son of her husband. Though the sentence was not carried into execution, it sufficed to give birth to two opposite factions throughout the empire. The people held the emperor guilty, both of the injustice of which he was the immediate cause, and of that, the consequences of which he had endeavoured to mitigate. When once a government has ceased to inspire confidence, the very punishments with which it visits the great for injuries inflicted on the

people, are regarded by that people as a fresh abuse of power.

Still the step is wide from these disagreements amongst princes, from these court intrigues, to a civil war. It was not the resentment and disgust excited by the weakness of their father, or the perfidy of their stepmother, in the minds of Lothaire or of Pepin, that influenced the small proprietors, of whom the Frankic armies were exclusively composed, to arm for war at their own expense, and to attack their fellow-countrymen. But disorder was spread throughout the empire. The feebleness of Louis had emboldened several of the enemies of the Franks — the Musulmans, the Bulgarians, the Normans, to ravage the frontiers; in the interior, the oppression exercised by the nobles on the people was daily becoming more intolerable. A frightful traffic in slaves was secretly carried on in all parts of the empire. The Musulmans have always been accustomed to place great confidence in the slaves brought up under their own roofs; they make them the guardians of their interests, their soldiers, often their ministers. They regarded it, too, as a work of piety and charity to buy the children of infidels, with the view of converting them to the true faith. They were, therefore, always ready to pay a high price for the Christian children brought to them in Spain or in Africa. From the neighbourhood of Verdun they received more particularly those whom they destined to form the interior guard of their harems. The Jews carried on this horrible trade; and the French nobles, ecclesiastical as well as secular, whenever they chanced to be pressed for money, sold them the children of their serfs, with the full knowledge of their destination. A law passed in the year 829, prohibiting the administration of baptism to the slaves of the Jews, without the consent of their masters, and the violent discussions which it excited in the diet, reveal to us the importance of this nefarious traffic, and the degree of oppression and of misery to which the whole lower class of the population of Gaul was reduced.

The external relations of the empire of the West still seemed worthy of the successor of Charlemagne. Northwards, its frontier extended as far as the Eyder, which still forms the boundary line between the German empire and Denmark. Beyond this river, and throughout Scandinavia, the Danes or Normans, who had afforded refuge to a great number of Saxon fugitives, and had imbibed their hatred of Christianity and of the Frankic sway, began to seek occasion to wreak their vengeance, to display their daring valour, and to gratify their thirst of plunder. Courage was, in their eyes, the first of virtues: the glory of a hazardous expedition was regarded by every family as an inheritance more precious than perishable riches; the young were eager to mark their entry into the world by daring adventures. Not less accustomed to brave the wrath of the tempest than the perils of the fight, they ventured forth on the ocean in small open boats: in these they infested the shores of Germany, of France, and of Great Britain; and extended the predatory warfare in which they gloried, to countries apparently the most secure from their attacks. But these expeditions were not as yet sanctioned by the national government; they were the exploits of adventurers, over whom the king of Denmark had no control. Indeed, at the time in question, that country was distracted by a civil war carried on between several cousins who aspired to the crown. The pretenders to the kingly dignity referred their claims to Louis le Débonnaire, and wished to make him their arbiter. In the year 826, one of them, called Heriolt*, set out for Mentz, which place the emperor had appointed for their meeting: he was accompanied by his wife and a numerous suite of his countrymen. They all declared themselves ready to embrace Christianity: Louis, consequently, presented Heriolt at the font of the church of St. Alban, where he was baptized; and the empress Judith performed the same office for the queen.

Within the boundaries of Gaul itself the imperial au-

* Harold or Harald is spelt Heroult by Norman historians.—*Transl.*

thority was but imperfectly acknowledged by the Bretons and Gascons. These nations, separated by their language from the Franks and the Gauls, submitted to the imperial government when it had sufficient vigour to make them feel that submission was inevitable; but they habitually despised agriculture and every useful art. Whoever did not speak their language was regarded as an enemy; whatever an enemy possessed was looked upon as lawful spoil; and the first symptoms of weakness in their neighbours were watched, as the signal for renewed hostilities and renewed pillage. Mervan and Viomark, who both assumed the title of king of the Bretons, repeatedly forced Louis to take the field; for, though he confided to his representatives the command of more distant wars, he invariably conducted in person those in the interior of Gaul. Lupus Centuli, duke of the Gascons, showed no less obstinacy; his agile hunters of the Pyrenees sallied forth from Bearn and the valley of Soule, and spread terror throughout Aquitaine: they escaped the pursuit even of the cavalry; and, at the very moment when their enemies thought them entrapped, they were far distant.

Beyond the Pyrenees, Alphonso II., surnamed the Chaste, king of Oviedo (A. D. 791—842), was carrying on an unequal struggle against Abderrahman, the victorious king of Corduba (A. D. 822—852). The former, under whom the half-fabulous hero, Bernardo del Carpio, distinguished himself by his exploits, demanded occasional succours of Louis, and in return rendered him occasional homage for the victories he gained in Galicia and the Asturias. The latter hardly noticed this mountain-warfare on the part of a small semi-barbarous nation. He had subdued all the rest of Spain to his government; he had suppressed several revolts in his own family; he had gained some brilliant victories over the generals of Louis and his son Pepin, king of Aquitaine. He had driven the Franks from the banks of the Ebro, and reconquered from them the county of Barcelona; but his attention had been chiefly turned to the encouragement of agriculture, of commerce, of arts and

letters, in every part of his domains. The population of Moorish Spain was rapidly increasing: her schools acquired celebrity; her scholars multiplied, and her towns and cities began to appreciate the new-felt benefits of civilisation and refinement of manners. Abderrahman II. was himself a philosopher, a poet, and a musician; and encouraged by his example and his patronage the studies in which he took an active share. But these pursuits had not the effect of inclining him to renounce the pleasures of the world. Whilst Alphonso II., who, in concert with his wife, had made a vow of monastic chastity, left no children, the philosopher Abderrahman left forty-five sons and forty-one daughters.

Italy was almost exclusively under the government of Lothaire, the eldest son of the emperor. Louis, who showed the most extreme deference to the papal authority, would, perhaps, have contributed to its elevation, in opposition to that of his son, if the lives of the five pontiffs who succeeded each other in the chair of St. Peter, during his reign, had been of longer duration. This rapid succession prevented the church from profiting, by the weakness of the emperor, to grasp at fresh prerogatives. All the other powers subordinate to the throne acquired, however, greater independence. Lothaire, dreading the enmity of his father and his stepmother, thought it expedient to conciliate all his vassals. The dukes who owed him allegiance, richer in wealth and in vassals than the nobles of France, began to look upon themselves as independent princes. The duke of Benevento, the most powerful of all, who, even under Charlemagne, had been a tributary, but never a subject, once more declared war on his own account; a proceeding not yet ventured upon by any other of the great nobles in the Frankic empire. Towards the end of Louis's reign (A.D. 839), it is true, this duchy was divided amongst three independent nobles, the princes of Salerno, Benevento, and Capua. But so increased was the population and the wealth of these magnificent tracts of country, that this great fief, even when divided, still ranked amongst the most powerful of the empire. At this

same epoch, the republics of Naples, Gaëta, and Amalfi, Greek cities, which took advantage of the neglect of the emperor of the East, to recover and strengthen their liberty, had rapidly increased in population; their troops were become warlike; and an extensive trade with the Arabs, the Greeks, and the Latins, spread affluence and prosperity within their walls. It is true, the rise of a new power in their neighbourhood inspired them with anxiety: the Saracens had established several military colonies at the mouths of the Garigliano, at Cuma, and at la Licosa.

On the other hand, Venice, which had already existed for several centuries under the protection of the Greek empire, was beginning to emancipate herself entirely from all foreign shackles. In the year 697, the Venetians had modified their constitution by placing a single head, with the title of doge, or duke, over the tribunes of the different confederate islands who composed the government. Pepin, son of Charlemagne, had refused to recognise the independence of the Venetians; but their vigorous resistance to his attacks, in the year 809, had established their right of paying no obedience to the head of the Western empire. This event had been followed, at no great distance of time, by the foundation of that city on the island of Rialto, which was destined to become the capital of the republic and the queen of the Adriatic.

Along the whole eastern frontier of the empire there were small Slavonic nations, who acknowledged themselves tributary to Louis le Débonnaire. Sometimes their dukes assisted in person at the diets held by the emperor; sometimes they delegated ambassadors. But it not unfrequently happened, that their own fickleness, or the insolence of the commanders on the frontiers, occasioned a petty warfare between them and the empire. Dukes of Pannonia, Dalmatia, Liburnia, the Abodrites, the Soratians, the Witzi, the Bohemians, the Moravians, are mentioned, sometimes amongst the feudatory subjects of the empire, sometimes amongst its enemies; without affording us a possibility of discovering the in-

terests and the alliances of these small barbarian tribes, who often changed both their name and place of abode. On the same frontier, in Hungary and Transylvania, the Huns and Avars, after having resisted the arms of Charlemagne, were become enfeebled by civil dissensions: many of them had embraced Christianity; many had abandoned the country; in short, they were no longer formidable. But, farther to the east, the Bulgarians had raised themselves upon their ruins. This pagan nation, continually at war with the Greeks, inspired universal dread from the ferocity of their manners and disposition. They did not turn their arms against the empire of the Franks; but several of the smaller Slavonic tribes forsook the alliance of the Franks and sought that of the Bulgarians, and paid tribute to the one or to the other, as they thought they could ensure themselves protection against that neighbour whom, at the time, they had the most reason to dread. In 824, the deputies of Omortag, king of the Bulgarians, arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle, to demand some settlement of frontiers between themselves and the Franks. The death of Omortag just at the same period interrupted the negotiations.

Peace still subsisted between the empire of the East and that of the West, and the two emperors continued their intercourse by means of embassies: but the simultaneous decay of these two great powers gradually estranged them from each other. In the time of Charlemagne, their territories had touched upon each other throughout the whole line of an extensive frontier; now, they were already separated by several independent or hostile states. The Island of Crete had been conquered, towards the year 823, by a fleet composed of Ommiad Musulmans from the shores of Andalusia. In 827, Sicily was invaded by a body of Musulmans from Africa, who had been invited to the enterprise by a young Greek who was in love with a nun. Dalmatia and Servia declared themselves independent about the year 826; the latter threw off the yoke of Byzantium, while the Croatians their neigh-

bours withdrew their allegiance from the court of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The revolutions of the Greek empire had been precipitated by the bitterness of the religious hatred existing between the image-worshippers and the iconoclasts. The ambitious Irene, who had re-established the worship of images, and had found in the monks such powerful allies, fell a victim to a conspiracy of the contrary faction, a short time after the negotiations set on foot between herself and Charlemagne, with the view of uniting the two empires by the marriage of their sovereigns. She was surprised and arrested, on the 31st of October, 802, by the orders of Nicephorus, her grand treasurer, who was crowned emperor in her place. She was banished to Lesbos, and left exposed to such abject poverty, that this once powerful and haughty empress was reduced to gain a scanty subsistence by spinning.

The history of Greece at this period has been transmitted to us solely by writers who were ardently devoted to the maintenance of the worship of images against the iconoclasts; and as Nicephorus once more abolished that worship, his reign, from 802 to 811, and that of his son Stauracius, are represented as disgraceful; whilst Michael Rhangabe, who succeeded the latter (A. D. 811—813), is painted as an excellent and truly orthodox prince. Nicephorus, it is true, was unsuccessful in the war which he undertook against the Bulgarians; but as he himself was killed in the great battle he fought against them, and his son was mortally wounded, we must at least do justice to their personal courage; while, on the contrary, their successor gave numerous proofs of weakness and incapacity. Michael was unseated by a new revolution, which once more placed the power in the hands of the iconoclasts, and raised Leo the Armenian to the empire. So slight was the alarm with which Michael Rhangabe inspired the new emperor, that he was permitted to retire to a convent, where he survived his deposition thirty-two years.

The Greek emperors contemporary with Louis le

Débonnaire, — Leo the Armenian (A. D. 813—820); Michael the Stammerer (A. D. 820—829); and his son Theophilus (A. D. 829—842), — persisted in their horror of image-worship; and they are all, in consequence, represented by clerical historians as tyrants. The coronation of Michael the Stammerer, and the death of Theophilus, are equally calculated to strike the imagination. The former, after having been the friend of Leo the Armenian, had repeatedly conspired against him: he had been condemned to be burnt alive, and was imprisoned in a dungeon of the palace. The eve of the day fixed for his execution, his friends, habited as priests and penitents, with swords hidden under their long robes, entered the chapel where the emperor Leo was performing matins, on Christmas-day, and attacked him at the moment he was chanting the first psalm. Leo, who had been a soldier, and who had ascended with glory, step after step, in the career of arms, having no other means of defence, seized a massive cross from the altar, and endeavoured to repulse the assailants, at the same time imploring their mercy. "It is the hour of vengeance, and not of mercy," was the answer of the conspirators; and he fell beneath their swords.

His prisoner, Michael, was instantly brought from his dungeon, and placed upon the throne, where he received the homage of the nobles of the empire, of the clergy, and the people, before a smith could be found to take off the fetters which still bound his feet.

His son Theophilus was surnamed by the Greeks the Unfortunate, from his constant want of success in every war he conducted in person, spite of his brilliant valour and great activity. He seems to have united the merits and defects of those eastern despots, whose justice, vigilance, and bravery historians celebrate; forgetting that the vigour, the promptitude, and arbitrary caprice of their decisions destroy in the people themselves all notions of law and justice; that their vigilance takes the form of vexatious *espionnage*, inspiring

their subjects with continual distrust; that their courage, not being enlightened and guided by a regular study of the art of war, serves only to expose their soldiers to danger.

The Greek nation already held but the second rank in the East. The opinions of their neighbours the Musulmans had influenced their morals and their habits; and the emperors of Greece were dazzled by the glory of the khaliphs. Theophilus, the rival of Motassem, the son of Harun al Rashid, seems to have taken the commander of the Faithful as his model. The death of Theophilus is even more stamped with the oriental character than his life. He had given his sister in marriage to a brave captain of the ancient race of the Persian kings, Theophobus, who with a great number of his countrymen had renounced a country bowed down under the Moslem yoke: he had embraced Christianity, and served in the armies of the empire. He had given his brother-in-law signal proofs of his fidelity, at a period when a numerous faction called upon himself to ascend the throne; and the emperor, attacked, in the flower of youth, by a mortal disease, which, it was evident, would rapidly tear him from his wife and his infant son, and would thus leave them unprotected, might have been expected to rejoice at the prospect of confiding them to the hands of so faithful a guardian as Theophobus. Such, however, would not be the opinion of a Turk of the present day in similar circumstances; neither was it that of Theophilus; for despotism assimilates men of every race and of every religion. With feelings of sombre jealousy, he reflected that his brother-in-law would survive him. On his death-bed, he gave orders that the head of Theophobus should be brought to him. He grasped it with his expiring hands, and exclaimed, "I recognise thee, my brother, and yet already thou hast ceased to be Theophobus: soon, too soon, I shall cease to be Theophilus." He then fell back upon his bed, and expired.

During the first sixteen years of the reign of Louis

le Débonnaire, frequent embassies between the two empires kept up the remembrance of the ancient unity of the Roman world; and the question of the worship of images was debated afresh in the West, on the invitation of the emperor of the East. But, dating from the year 830, we find the whole attention of the Franks concentrated upon themselves: their relations with foreign powers were dissolved; and the history of the times presents us with nothing but internal dissensions and the quarrels of the Carlovingian family.

At the assembly of the states held at Aix-la-Chapelle in the spring of the year 830, Louis had called together the Frankic army to carry war into Britany. This war, in which the soldiers had no hopes of getting plunder, and in which they knew they must undergo all the inconveniences and dangers of roads fatal to their horses, an unwholesome climate, and great suffering, was regarded with extreme repugnance by the freemen of whom the army was to be composed. This discontent; the ignorance of the freemen, who, in most instances, suffered without understanding the cause of their suffering; the absence of all public opinion; the want of any communication between the provinces which could serve to enlighten them; were so many instruments seized upon by the sons of Louis to incite to revolt, the armies marching under them to the general rendezvous. Pepin, king of Aquitaine, and Louis, king of Bavaria, united their troops at Verberie. Their father, perceiving that he was abandoned by the greater part of his soldiers, resolved on putting himself at the head of those who continued faithful, and marching to Compiègne, three miles distant, where he entered into negotiations with his sons. A promise was immediately exacted from him, that he would dismiss from his court Bernhard, duke of Septimania, the reputed lover of his wife. The empress Judith was conducted to the camp, and confessions corroborative of public suspicions were extorted from her, together with a promise that she would take the veil at the convent of St. Radegunde at

Poictiers. Judith was so acted upon, either by terror or by repentance, that she entreated the emperor to abdicate the crown, and to retire to a convent; but he refused to bind himself by monastic vows, and demanded time for deliberation. In the meantime, the aged monarch found himself a prisoner in the hands of his three sons: for Lothaire had arrived from Italy; he had approved every thing done by his two brothers, and was recognised as the head of the malcontent party. It was the wish of the clergy of his party, that the emperor should be formally deposed by a national council. But such severity did not appear necessary to his sons, who were not resolved on depriving him of all authority. The feeble Louis had always been led by those about him: henceforward their rivals were removed from his person, and he remained entirely in their hands; they imagined he would submit implicitly to their wishes, while his name, and the respect it still inspired, would be of use, without imposing any restraint upon them.

But jealousy of power aroused the mental energy of the old emperor. He readily gave himself up to a favourite, but that favourite must be of his own choice; and to regain possession of power, he displayed a degree of address and perseverance which he had never before exhibited. The house of Charlemagne had reached its elevation by the arms of the people of Germany. Charles had lived almost entirely amongst them; and had chosen them exclusively to fill his army and to discharge the most eminent functions both of church and state. The inhabitants of Gaul felt humbled and oppressed: under the reign of Charlemagne they had not dared to make any attempt to free themselves; they were emboldened under that of Louis (of whom, however, they had fewer reasons to complain), and they took advantage of the dissensions amongst the royal family to shake off this Germanic ascendancy: they united their own cause to that of the malcontent princes, and seconded every attack made upon the imperial authority.

The empire of the West was thus divided between two nations whom their language rendered it impossible to blend, and in whom difference of origin and customs engendered mutual antipathy. On the one side were seen all the inhabitants of either bank of the Rhine, who, till that time, had been almost exclusively designated by the name of Franks*, but to whom, at this period, the more generic name of Germans was again beginning to be applied: on the other were found all who made use of the Roman tongue, or the different patois which were already growing out of corrupted Latin; the Gauls, the Aquitanians, the Italians. The Gauls, however, were not willing to renounce their share of the glory which for three centuries had hung around the conquerors of their country; they therefore assumed the name of Franks, and gave to their country that of France. As, however, from the period in question, this name denotes a new language (the same spoken by the French of the present day, as contradistinguished from the Teutonic language of the ancient Franks), we shall henceforth give to the Gauls, among whom it was in use, the modern name of French.

The aversion of the French, and the attachment of the Germans, to the son of Charlemagne, furnishes an explanation of the long civil wars which troubled the end of the reign of Louis le Débonnaire, and the whole of that of his sons. Louis having succeeded in obtaining that the next assembly of the states should be convoked at Nimegen, found himself surrounded there by a far larger number of Germans than of French: Lothaire, frightened at the desertion of his partisans, repaired to his father's tent; and, whilst his followers alarmed by the length of the conference, imagined he had met with some violence, and were preparing at the peril of their lives to rescue him by main force, he had effected his reconciliation after the manner of princes: —he sacrificed the men who had exposed themselves for

* It should be remarked, that *Franken* was not the name of a tribe or gens, like *Sachsen*, *Bajoaren* (Bayern), &c., but of an association, originally formed for the deliverance of Germany from the Roman yoke.—*Transl.*

his sake; he accused them as the instigators of all his rebellious acts; and consented to the condemnation of all his friends to death. The good-natured Louis, however, abstained from carrying into execution any one of the sentences pronounced upon them; his sole desire seemed to be to recall his wife from the convent whither she had retired, and to prevail on the church to authorise him in taking her back.

The misfortunes of the aged emperor had had the effect of exciting the enthusiasm of the people, and especially of his own countrymen, bound to him by the tie of a common language. His humility might be extolled by the monks; his clemency had juster claims on universal approbation: but no sooner did he resume the reins of the government, than his incapacity increased the general disorder, and his very virtues became a source of evil to the people. Accordingly, a year had hardly elapsed after power had been restored to him, when discontent burst forth on all sides. Always under the dominion and the guidance of the person most constantly about him, and especially of the empress Judith, the most futile motives influenced his most important determinations: he altered the order of the succession to the crown, rather than support for an instant the ill-humour of his wife; he appointed military governors over the largest provinces as the price of a caress, and changed the boundaries of his kingdom in return for the slightest favour. The instability of every established division; the apparent contempt for all settled arrangements; the violation of every oath intended as a guarantee, kept alive the agitation of the people. The sons of Louis, seeing that their interests were incessantly sacrificed to that of their youngest brother, repeatedly endeavoured at resistance, either openly or by intrigue: at last they met in arms in Alsace, in the month of June, 833, with the design of compelling their father to adhere to his own ordinances and his own divisions of territory.

Louis, on his side, advanced as far as Worms to re-

sist them. He was surrounded by numerous prelates, nobles, and soldiers, who inspired him with full confidence; but who, though united under his standard by their sense of allegiance, probably lamented that they were obliged to turn their arms against their fellow-countrymen, merely to abet the ambition of a woman, or to comply with the dotage of a king no longer in a state to know his own will. During the night of the 24th of June, 833, each battalion successively passed over to the camp of the young princes: all the great nobles, all the prelates, and soon after all the courtiers, one after the other, abandoned the old monarch, whose imbecility daily became more evident. The spot where the emperor experienced this universal defection, previously known under the name of the *Rothfeld* (the red field), from that time bore the name of *Lügenfeld* (the field of a lie). Louis, always eager to submit, dismissed the small number of faithful adherents still attached to him, went in person with his wife and his youngest son to the camp of his eldest sons, and resigned himself to captivity.

The universal defection which took place on the *Lügenfeld* may be considered as a solemn judgment pronounced by the nation on the premature dotage of Louis le Débonnaire. But the resentment of the people is never long-lived; that of the French people, least of all. No sooner was the court which had caused such universal mischief broken up, than the people, led rather by imagination than by reason, felt no other sentiment towards their old monarch than that of pity for his humiliation; and the sons of Louis were no sooner victorious than they lost all their popularity. They thought they should render their father incapable of ever re-ascending the throne by a solemn act of degradation, namely, by depriving him of his knightly belt. The bishops on their side drew up a general confession, consisting of eight articles, in which Louis was made to accuse himself of numerous crimes, and to declare himself unworthy of the throne. The facile monarch

did not hesitate to recite it in the church of Soissons (November 11. 833). He afterwards demanded that a public penance should be imposed on him, that he might furnish an example to that people to whom he had been a scandal. With his own hands he unbuckled his knight's belt, and placed it on the altar; then, taking off his accustomed dress, he received from the bishops the dress of a penitent.

The bishops imagined that, after this degrading ceremony, Louis would become an object of contempt in the eyes of all. But the aged emperor had resigned himself to disgrace from a feeling of monk-like humility, —a sentiment in which the people of that day could well sympathise: far from losing any of his partisans by his contrite submission, he only inspired greater pity. The two younger sons of Louis separated from their eldest brother, and complained of the rigour with which their father had been treated; and Lothaire, abandoned by all his partisans successively, was soon reduced to yield to the conditions imposed on him by public opinion.

It is worthy of remark that these revolutions so rapidly and frequently occurring, which alternately deprived the emperor or his sons of the sovereign power, and restored it to them, had been hitherto accomplished without any bloodshed. It is true that the princes were backed by armies, but these had appeared to give the law much more by the weight of their opinions than by their arms. The officers and the troops passed judgment on the conduct and the sentiments of their kings. Accordingly, they were constantly negotiating with the opposite camp, and passing without scruple from the one to the other. When a decision was taken, it seemed to be the consequence of the declared and evident unanimity of the nation, to which kings felt obliged to submit. At the beginning of the year 834, Lothaire was recognised sole emperor by the whole army, and by all the provinces: he was master of the persons of his adversaries, Louis, Judith, and Charles: in less than two months, he abandoned all these advantages, without even draw-

ing his sword to defend them. In the early days of March, he set at liberty his father, who was at the convent of St. Denis; he took no measures to keep the empress and her son in his power; he fled from Paris, and retired to Vienne upon the Rhone, where he endeavoured to assemble his partisans. Dating from this time, and during the last six years of the reign of Louis le Débonnaire, it is true the quarrels of his family were more often disgraced by bloodshed; still they were not marked by any great battle, nor by any exploit demanding our attention. No civil wars present a more degrading spectacle, or one more disgraceful to the human race, than those of the Carlovingian family: they call forth neither great virtues, great talents, nor great passions; they do not even display great crimes; but every class in the state, every portion of society, seems struck with a mortal languor.

The death of Pepin, king of Aquitaine, which took place at Poictiers on the 13th of December, 838, changed the politics of Louis, or rather those of the ambitious Judith, who absolutely directed his councils. Pepin, the second of the emperor's sons, left two sons and two daughters. According to the division of the kingdom, sanctioned by the monarch and the nation, the crown of Aquitaine passed of right to the elder son; but Louis immediately took the determination of despoiling his grandson in favour of his son by Judith; and he consecrated the remnant of a life now drawing to a close, to the conduct of this unnatural war, whilst the Aquitanians generously embraced the defence of the son of the king whom he had given them. On the other hand, though Lothaire, the emperor's eldest son, was the one of the three who had caused him the most vexation, Judith, judging that his protection would be the most useful to Charles the Bald, sought to effect her reconciliation with him at any price. She accordingly entered into an agreement with him, that Bavaria alone should be given up to the emperor's third son, who, like his father, was named Louis, and that the whole

remaining empire should be divided between Lothaire and Charles. Such was the price of the reconciliation between the two emperors, proclaimed at the diet of Worms, on the 30th of May, 839.

While these dissensions were passing within, the increasing weakness and universal anarchy which they occasioned, left the empire a prey to the attacks of all its neighbours. Those on the Slavonic frontier, now neighbours only to Louis of Bavaria, were already forgotten by the French. The record of no single event has come down to us, of all that passed throughout that long eastern frontier which Louis le Débonnaire had defended in the beginning of his reign. But it was by sea that the barbarians now gained entrance into France; and on this element none dreamed of repelling them. Every year the Northmen pushed their ravages farther on every shore of the ocean. The Mediterranean coasts were also beginning to suffer from the devastating incursions of the Saracens: a body of the latter, in 838, surprised and pillaged Marseilles, the most opulent of the cities of the south; while others of their countrymen established themselves in southern Italy.

At last Louis le Débonnaire, who had grown old both in mind and body long before the appointed period of man's decline, was attacked, towards the beginning of June, in the year 840, with water on the chest. By his own command, he was transported to the palace of Ingelheim, built on an island in the Rhine, above Maintz: there he still displayed that monk-like piety, sometimes touching, but always weak, which had conciliated the love of the people, notwithstanding the ignominy of his reign. His natural brother, Drogo, bishop of Metz, attended him in his last moments, and prevailed on him to extend his forgiveness to every one, even to Louis of Bavaria, his third son, at that time in arms against him, and whom he accused of bringing his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. When he was on the point of expiring, he was twice heard to exclaim in the German tongue, "Aus! aus!"—"Out! out!" as

if exhorting his soul to burst forth from its terrestrial abode. But it was the belief of his attendants that these words were addressed to the devil, whom he beheld at his window. "For with his company," says the chronicle of St. Denis, "he had nought to do, either dead or alive. Then he turned his face to the right side; raised his eyes toward heaven, and in this manner he passed from this mortal life to the joys of paradise, June 28. 840."

## CHAP. XIX.

DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE INTO DISTINCT STATES. — RAPID DEGENERACY OF THE CARLOVINGIAN RACE. — SUCCESSORS TO LOUIS LE DÉBONNAIRE. — CHARLES THE BALD. — GOVERNMENT OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY. — FRENCH AND GERMAN LANGUAGES. — BATTLE OF FONTENAI. — DEFEAT OF LOTHAIRE AND PEPIN. — PARTITION OF THE EMPIRE. — PEACE. — INCURSIONS OF THE NORTHMEN ON THE COASTS OF FRANCE. — THEIR BRAVERY AND LOVE OF PLUNDER. — OSCAR. — PILLAGE OF ROUEN. — PUSILLANIMITY OF THE PEOPLE. — RÆGNER LODBROG. — FLIGHT OF CHARLES THE BALD AND HIS COURT. — SACK OF PARIS. — HASTINGS. — DEFENCELESS STATE OF FRANCE. — ATTACKS OF THE SARACENS AND MOORS ON ROME AND NAPLES. — SACK OF MARSEILLES BY GREEK PIRATES. — BURNING OF BORDEAUX BY THE NORMANS. — SACK OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, TRÈVES, AND COLOGNE. — STATE OF THE POPULATION OF FRANCE. — DEVASTATION OF NORMANDY. — SECOND SACK OF PARIS. — COWARDICE AND DECAY OF THE FRENCH NOBILITY. — INCREASING WEALTH AND POWER OF THE CHURCH. — CONDUCT OF THE CLERGY. — TRIAL BY ORDEAL. — SUPERIOR POWER OF THE BISHOPS IN FRANCE, OF THE DUKES IN ITALY, OF THE PEOPLE IN GERMANY. — DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE AMONG THE THREE SONS OF LOTHAIRE. — HIS ABDICATION AND DEATH. — DIVISION OF THE STATES OF CHARLES THE BALD. — MARRIAGE OF LOTHAIRE THE YOUNGER AND THEUTBERGE. — VIOLENT OPPOSITION OF THE CLERGY TO THEIR DIVORCE. — APPEAL TO POPE NICHOLAS I. — LOTHAIRE'S JOURNEY TO ROME. — HIS RECEPTION BY ADRIAN II. — ADRIAN'S DENUNCIATIONS. — DEATH OF LOTHAIRE AND HIS COMPANIONS. A. D. 840—869.

So far as we have been able to penetrate the obscurity of the ages which have just passed in review before us, we have beheld all the nations of the West subjected to common revolutions, hurried along in a like career; we have seen them combining, first under the Romans, then under the Franks, and under the Arabs, towards the formation of a universal monarchy. It was sufficient,

with a view to render intelligible the general course of the nations of Europe, to fix our attention on a single empire, and to follow out the relations either of its parts with the whole, or of its enemies with the one dominant and united state.

In the middle of the ninth century the scene changes. The partition of the West among the sons of Louis le Débonnaire gave birth to independent states; to nations of strange language, laws, manners, and opinions, which we see keep their ground in Europe. The period on which we are now about to enter, calamitous in many points of view, shameful and degrading to subjects and to kings, was yet, after long anarchy, productive of the most important and beneficial results;—the birth of popular rights and institutions. This we are about to witness; and it is the final act of the grand drama which it was our design to exhibit to our readers. But no small number of years were required for the completion of this act: long efforts, pertinacious struggles, were needed to change all the opinions of men; to turn the course of their affections; to detach them from the body of which they had always learned to consider themselves as forming a part, and to persuade them that they formed a whole of themselves.

Long after the power of Charlemagne and his descendants had ceased, the recollection, or the idea, of the empire still dwelt in the minds and the memories of the people of the West. Long after independent sovereigns, a difference of language, an opposition of interests, had detached the Franks, the Germans, the Italians, from each other, and broken again into many fragments their newly-formed monarchies, the three nations continued to regard each other as fellow-countrymen; all their sovereigns continued to take the title of Frank princes, and to think themselves qualified candidates for all the crowns of the West indifferently. The revolution which separated the members of the empire began in the year 840, at the death of Louis le Débonnaire; in 987 it was scarcely accomplished, when Charles of Lorraine,

brother of Louis V., the last of the Carlovingian line, was deprived of the throne in the last of the kingdoms which had remained subject to his family.

Among the causes which precipitated the fall of this mighty body, we must doubtless place in the foremost rank, the incapacity of its rulers. The degeneracy of the Carlovingian race is one of the most striking examples of that rapid deterioration of the species which menaces royal families, and which seems an almost inevitable consequence of the seductions with which absolute power surrounds them. When these families attain to the possession of absolute power in a semi-barbarous age; when the fathers have not endeavoured to correct in their children, by the most careful education, the disadvantages of their situation; when the culture of the mind, of letters, and of morals, do not give a new direction to the activity of those who seem to have nothing left to wish or to aspire after, the successive occupants of the throne can have no other thought than that of enjoying the sensual pleasures placed within their reach by the success of the founders of their dynasty: they are corrupted by all the vices which power and riches can minister to; corrupted by the absence of all obstacle and all restraint, which, of itself, is often sufficient to turn the strongest head; corrupted, often, by the false direction given to their superficial studies, or by the false aspect under which religion is presented to them, as a means of expiating the vices she fails to prevent.

The Carlovingian family, which was divided into so many branches, which occupied for nearly a century all the thrones of Europe, and which exercised so decisive an influence over the calamities of that quarter of the globe, had, at its rise, produced a series of great men; Pepin of Heristal, Charles Martel, Pepin the Short, Charlemagne: never had so many able and distinguished leaders been seen to succeed each other in a right line. It must, however, be remarked, that the earlier among them were little more than party chieftains, or com-

manders of armies; and that even the last-mentioned was not born in a royal station. On the contrary, dating from the revolution which placed them on the throne, all the sons and grandsons of these heroic ancestors; all those princes, lapped from their birth in the purple of the Western empire; were, without a single exception, despised and despicable. In the second generation, even, we do not find one deserving of interest, or capable of exciting affection; and the annihilation of the strength of their immense empire, its rapid fall,—without precedent or parallel in the world,—was the work of their vices and their imbecility.

Louis le Débonnaire had, indeed, paved the way towards this enfeeblement of the Carlovingian race. With extensive acquirements, goodness of heart, and amiable qualities, which were mistaken for virtues, he ruined, in a few years, the magnificent inheritance he had received from his heroic predecessors. Seduced by the intrigues of his second wife, and by his foolish partiality for his youngest son, he overthrew the laws of the empire, and those which he had himself enacted; confounded all rights, and rendered the duties of the people unintelligible by contradictory obligations; taught his sons and his subjects to violate the treaties and the oaths he exacted from them, and which he himself violated; and thus rendered necessary a civil war after his death, to regulate, by force of arms, what he had thrown into confusion by his infirmness and vacillation.

At the moment of his death, Louis le Débonnaire had not one of his children near him. His eldest son, Lothaire, governed Italy with the title of emperor; the second, Pepin, was dead, and his son, Pepin II., was acknowledged king by a part of Aquitaine; the third, Louis, called from that time the Germanic, reigned in Bavaria; the fourth, Charles, was at Bourges, endeavouring to induce the Aquitanians to recognise him as their sovereign. The claims of these four princes, the eldest of whom wanted to remain head of the monarchy,

as his father and grandfather had been, not one of whom was contented with the portion allotted to him, could only be adjusted by a higher tribunal — either the voice of the whole nation, or the decision of the sword, which in public and in private quarrels was thought to pronounce the judgment of Heaven. The four princes prepared to submit their claims to both: but their respective rights were so confused; their interests were so ill understood even by themselves; the alliances they might have been able to contract were in a state of so little forwardness, that they were not ready either to plead or to fight. A national diet had been convoked at Worms, even before their father's death: they did not attend it. They assembled their armies, though their armies were, as yet, little disposed to take the field.

The youngest son of Louis, Charles the Bald, was only seventeen years old. He had done nothing, nor certainly did he ever do any thing, which could justly endear him to the people. The right which he claimed to strip Pepin II., to invade the possessions of his elder brothers, or to render himself independent of the head of his family, could be founded only on those feminine intrigues to which he owed his elevation, or on the fondness of a father who had sunk into dotage. These same intrigues had for ten years past involved the nation in scandalous intestine wars, the very memory of which was, one would think, sufficient to alienate the affections of the people from the young man who had been made the cause of so many miseries. Spite of all these disadvantages, Charles's cause was maintained with constancy, with pertinacity, and he triumphed. The consequences of his success may perhaps contribute to enlighten us as to its causes. With the reign of Charles the Bald commenced the real French monarchy; or the independence of that nation which created the language still spoken in France: it was the epoch of the separation of that country from Germany and Italy. The war of Charles against his two brothers was main-

tained by the Gaulish people; or, rather, by the nobles of Roman extraction, who wished to shake off the German yoke. The insignificant quarrel of the kings was taken up with ardour, because it was identified with the quarrel of the races; and all the hostile prejudices which always attach to differences of language and of manners, gave obstinacy and bitterness to the combatants.

The first conquest of the Franks had scattered the two tongues, the Teutonic and the Latin, throughout the whole extent of Gaul. The barbarian and the Roman had each his dialect: the one had been reserved for the army, the other for the church and the government. All the nobles and great men spoke both languages indifferently; but in the south, the Latin, which daily became more and more corrupt, and which began to be designated by the name Roman, or Romanz, was the mother tongue: German was the taught language. The reverse of this was the case in the north. The revolution which had transferred the whole power to the dukes of Austrasia, the ancestors of Charlemagne, and their armies, had diffused the German language over the south, and had rendered it absolutely necessary for those connected with the government to acquire it; but at the same time the seat of the court had been transferred to the Germanic provinces — to Aix-la-Chapelle, Worms, Cologne; and Paris, formerly the capital of the kingdom, had become more and more attached to the Roman language, in proportion as it was more and more deserted by the Franks. At the time of the death of Louis le Débonnaire, the frontier line between the region of the two languages was pretty much what it is at present. It was the boundary which, in his last partition treaty, that emperor had sought to establish between the government of Lothaire and that of Charles. For the first time since the fall of the Roman empire, all who spoke the Roman dialect of France were united into one single body; for the first time they could express their sentiments of dislike to those barbarians who af-

fected to be their masters, and whom their language alone sufficed to prove of another race. The young man whom fortune gave them as a leader, showed, ere long, how little he deserved their attachment or their sacrifices; but if they could have been induced to abandon him, they would certainly never abandon themselves.

A whole year was spent by the four princes in assembling their armies, in strengthening the attachment of their partisans, and in binding themselves by mutual alliances. Thus Lothaire promised his support to the youthful Pepin, while Louis the Germanic became the ally of the young Charles. After many skirmishes between the several parties, the four princes at length marched in the direction of the centre of France, about the close of the spring of the year 841. Louis and Charles then sent a message to Lothaire and Pepin to this effect: that they must choose whether they would accept their last propositions, or await them in the field; for that, on the morrow, the 25th of June, at the second hour of the day, they would come to demand the decision of Almighty God, to which those princes had forced them to appeal against their will.

In this spirit was fought the battle of Fontenai, the most bloody and furious conflict which had taken place in the civil wars of France for many years. A contemporary Italian writer affirms, that the loss of Lothaire and Pepin amounted to forty thousand men: this calculation is most likely exaggerated: it is a more probable supposition that forty thousand men was the amount of the loss on both sides; for the conquerors, Louis and Charles, suffered little less than the conquered. Even this number is, doubtless, very large; but it betrays a great ignorance either of the moral causes which govern great states, or of the habitual effect of war on population, to attribute, as has often been done, to this carnage alone, the ruin of the Frankic empire.

The terrible battle of Fontenai did not give a sufficiently decided advantage to one party over the other, to occasion an immediate occupation of new provinces,

or a change in the respective forces of the two leagues. Each people, and each prince, while bewailing their respective losses, began to think seriously of the means of preventing the recurrence of a similar calamity, the rather, as the empire was at the same time devastated by other enemies. The people, the dukes, the prelates, demanded peace with the utmost urgency; the princes felt the necessity of sincerely and earnestly endeavouring to obtain it. Lothaire was the first who sent to propose to his brothers a treaty of peace, of which he consented to admit, as the basis, the independence of their kingdoms of his imperial crown. Italy, Bavaria, and Aquitaine were to be considered as the hereditary portions, respectively, of Lothaire, of Louis, and of Charles; for Pepin II. was unconditionally abandoned by his uncle, who had promised to protect him. After severing these three kingdoms from the mass, the remainder was to be divided into three equal parts, of which Lothaire, as elder, was to have his choice. Although these primary conditions were agreed on, and the three brothers had had an amicable conference, in the middle of June, 842, in a little island in the Saône, above Maçon, a long time was still required before their commissaries could come to an understanding. They soon began to discover that they had not sufficiently exact information as to the extent or the comparative riches of the several provinces of the empire, to make an equal division of them. They had no geographical maps, no statistical tables to refer to, and were compelled to see every thing with their own eyes. They then asked for assistants, till at length the total number of commissaries amounted to three hundred.

They allotted out among themselves the whole surface of the empire, and they engaged to traverse it in every direction, and to make a complete report upon it before the August of the following year. On this report, the final division of the empire of Charlemagne was decided on in the month of August, 843. All that part of Gaul situated to the west of the Meuse, the

Saône, and the Rhône, with the part of Spain lying between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, were abandoned to Charles the Bald. This constituted the new kingdom of France.

The whole of Germany, to the Rhine, was allotted to Louis the Germanic. Lothaire united to Italy the whole eastern portion of France, from the sea of Provence to the mouths of the Rhine and the Scheldt. This long and narrow strip, which cut off all communication between Louis and Charles, and which included all the countries speaking German in the interior of Gaul, was called Lotharingia, or the portion of Lothaire; whence the German Lothringen, and the French Lorraine.

The motive which had mainly determined the Carlovingian princes to put an end to the war, and to lend an ear to the universal complaints of their subjects, was, the invasion of the coasts of France and Germany by adventurers from the North, who were called Northmen (*Nordmänner*), or Danes; and who returned each succeeding year in greater numbers, and renewed their ravages on the defenceless countries. It was not from the small kingdom of Denmark alone that these formidable swarms issued forth: the whole of Scandinavia, all the shores of the Baltic sea, all the regions lying along the rivers which empty themselves into that sea, furnished recruits to these bands of sea-robbers. It was a new direction which the migration of the northern hordes had taken: instead of advancing across the continent, they poured down upon the coasts. They fancied they acquired a double glory—as they incurred a double danger—in braving the tempests of the north in their frail barks, before they encountered the enemies whom they went in search of. Without any other pretext for war than the love of plunder; without any other offence, on the part of those they attacked, than their riches; they still imagined that they were in quest of honour as well as of booty; and if they lost thousands of men annually by storms at sea and combats on shore,

their population increased with a rapidity commensurate with the drain upon it, and the numbers of the Norse invaders seemed to multiply with their perils and disasters. In the year 841, Oscar, duke of the Northmen or Danes, ascended the Seine as far as Rouen, took and pillaged that great city, to which he set fire on the 14th of May, and continued to lay waste and plunder the banks of the Seine during a fortnight. Not an individual appeared to resist him. The inhabitants of the country were confounded in one common state of degradation and servitude with the cattle, which aided them in their labours; those of the towns were vexed, oppressed, and unprotected: all were disarmed; all had lost the requisite determination, as well as physical strength, to defend their lives as well as the slender remnant of property which the nobles had left them. The monks, who had already got the greater part of the soil into their hands, and who had mainly contributed to the complete decline of the military spirit, thought of nothing but how to hinder the relics, which they regarded as the treasures of their convents, from falling into the hands of the pagan invaders; and as, in the finest provinces of France, there was not a single spot within thirty leagues of the coast, in which they could think themselves in safety, they bore them in procession farther into the country.

Every one of the following years was marked by some expedition equally disastrous to France, and by the pillage of some great city. Nantes, Bordeaux, and Saintes, fell successively into the hands of the Normans. The ancient walls of the cities appear to have been totally abandoned; nor, indeed, could they have afforded any protection to citizens so debased and disheartened; who, instead of attempting to defend themselves, flocked, together with their priests, into the churches, where they suffered themselves to be butchered without resistance. In 845, Regner, duke of the Northmen, entered the mouth of the Seine with a hundred barks, and ascended the river with matchless audacity,

laying waste both banks in his passage, though Charles, with his army, was then encamped on the right bank.

Paris, which had been the capital of the Merovingian kings, had lost that prerogative under the Carlovingian dynasty. But that great city was still more important than any of those which had fallen to the lot of Charles the Bald; was adorned with a greater number of churches and of convents than any other; and, in the midst of the universal misery, she boasted the immense treasures collected in her churches. When Charles learned the approach of the Northmen, who had encountered no obstacle or resistance, he left the citizens exposed to all the horrors which threatened them: while he and his nobles established themselves in the convent of St. Denis, with a view to defend that sanctuary; and the servants of the church of St. Geneviève hastened to carry off the relics and the treasures of the saint to a remote farm which belonged to them.

Ragner, continuing his passage up the Seine, arrived before Paris on Holy Saturday, the 28th of March, 845. The city was deserted: all the inhabitants had fled. The Northmen experienced no resistance; yet they massacred or hanged, in sight of the king's army and as a mark of their contempt for him, all the unhappy fugitives who fell into their hands.

At the same time, without hastening, or without appearing to apprehend the slightest danger from their delay, they loaded their vessels with all the wealth they found remaining in Paris, — even to the timber of the houses or the churches which they thought applicable to the purposes of ship-building; while the grandson of Charlemagne, having neither courage to fight himself, nor finding any in the nobles by whom he was surrounded, bargained with the Northmen for the price of their departure, and at length promised them seven thousand pounds' weight of silver.

A new leader of the Norse warriors, Hastings, who for thirty years led them on to victory, and who, above any other, contributed to reduce the fertile coasts of

France and of England to a depopulated waste, began about this time to acquire celebrity. It is asserted that he was born among the most barbarous of the peasants of the diocese of Troyes; but that, finding it impossible to endure the state of oppression to which he saw himself and those around him condemned, he had fled to the pagans of the North, embraced their religion, adopted their manners and their language, and distinguished himself by so much ability and daring, that he rapidly rose to consideration among them, and at length became their leader. Their cupidity was actively seconded by his thirst of vengeance, which he wreaked with peculiar fury on the nobles and the priests. Thus it was, that the execrable administration of the empire had brought about the almost universal extinction of resolution and energy in the people; and if by any accident one escaped the poisonous influence of slavery, he turned against society those qualities, which, under good government, would have made him its most valuable defender, and now rendered him its most terrible scourge.

The Carlovingian princes, far from occupying themselves with the means of defending their subjects, recalled from the mouths of rivers the coast-guards stationed there by Charlemagne, to employ them against each other; for, in the midst of the general devastation, their civil wars continued; and Charles, the most exposed of them all to the incursions of the Normans, seemed to have no other object in view but to rob his nephew Pepin II. of Aquitaine.

Meanwhile barbarians of every clime and region seemed to have learned that the Franks might be attacked with impunity at every point. The Saracens of Africa began to ravage the south, in the same manner as the Normans had devastated the west. In the month of April, 846, a mixed body of Arabs and Moors ascended the Tiber, took possession of the church of St. Peter of the Vatican, which was at that time without the walls of Rome, carried off the altar placed over the tomb of the

apostle, together with all the ornaments and treasures of the church, and then turned their course towards Naples. At the same time Louis the Germanic, who had tried to repel an invasion of the Slavonians, had been defeated, less from the bravery of his enemies than from the dissensions of his own troops.

The progress of cowardice and debasement among the sons of Charlemagne's soldiers,—among the French, in whom courage seems generated by the very air they breathe,—is one of the most remarkable phenomena, but also one of the best attested, of the age we are contemplating: it proves to what a degree slavery can annihilate every virtue, and what a nation may become in which one caste arrogates to itself the exclusive privilege of bearing arms. Of all the cities built on the shores of the Mediterranean, Marseilles was the most opulent, the most populous, and the most important as a commercial town. Marseilles was taken, in 848, by the refuse of Europe,—a handful of Greek pirates, who landed without resistance, and, after sacking the city, retired with impunity. At the same time, the Northmen took possession of Bordeaux, which they gave up to the flames.

The cities of Friesland and Flanders in Lothaire's domains were no better defended. The walls of St. Omer alone inspired some confidence, and the relics and conventual wealth of the whole province were, consequently, brought thither for security. Experience had too clearly shown that these sacred treasures did not defend themselves from the insults or the rapacity of the pagans; yet the popular faith in them continued unshaken.

The princes and the governors of provinces not only opposed no resistance to their enemies, but frequently invited them, and employed their arms to intimidate domestic foes, or to avenge pretended offences. Nomenoé, duke of the Bretons, is accused of having repeatedly introduced the Normans into the region lying between the Loire and the Seine. Pepin II. of Aquitaine, and William, son of Bernhard duke of Septimania, were not

more scrupulous in calling in the Saracens: they introduced them not only along the whole marches of Spain, and in Septimania or Languedoc, but even into Provence. In an age which is called religious, the crime, in a Christian, of delivering up his country to pagans or to Mussulmans, seemed of a deeper dye than that of betraying it to an ordinary enemy: and yet, never did the princes or powerful men hesitate to commit it, if it promised to afford a means of gratifying their ambition or their vengeance. Scarcely was there an individual among the distinguished persons of this age who did not enter into some disgraceful treaty with the enemies of his faith.

In the early part of the autumn of 851, a fleet of two hundred and fifty large Danish boats appeared off the coast of France, and, dividing themselves into parties at the mouths of the rivers, ascended at the same time the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Seine. One of the divisions reached Aix-la-Chapelle, and no attempt was made to defend the ancient capital of Charlemagne,—the capital of Lothaire: the imperial palace was burned by the northern pirates, and the richest convents were given over to pillage. Nor was this all: this band of hardy adventurers, daring at once the power of France and that of Germany, pursued their route to Trèves and Cologne, massacred almost all the inhabitants of these two celebrated cities, and set fire to their buildings.

Another division, after leaving their boats at Rouen, had advanced by land as far as Beauvais, and had spread desolation throughout the adjacent country. The Danes passed two hundred and eighty-seven days in the country lying on the Seine; and when they quitted it, with their ships laden with the spoil of France, it was not to return home, but to transfer the scene of their depredations to Bordeaux. Yet, we do not hear what either Lothaire or Charles the Bald were doing during this period; nor why those nobles who had reserved to themselves the exclusive right of bearing arms, could not draw a sword in defence of their country. Those ambitious chiefs,

who had destroyed at once the power of the king and of the people, seemed now to rival each other only in abject pusillanimity.

Europe still contained a great number of veteran warriors, who had beheld Charlemagne master of an empire which extended from the shores of the Mediterranean to those of the Baltic, and from the Krapack mountains to the ocean. No unforeseen calamity had befallen that vast empire; no powerful nation, no confederation of various tribes, had taken arms against it: it had fallen by the vices of its government alone. Never were the French summoned by the public authority to take arms, except for the purpose of slaughtering each other in the name and on the behalf of royalty. The nations united under the sceptre of Charlemagne were regarded by his descendants as a numerous herd, which they shared among them in the most capricious manner, without the least regard to the interests of the people, or the means of defending the states. The race of freemen, already exhausted by Charlemagne's wars, had become extinct under the feeble reigns of Louis le Débonnaire and of his son. The inhabitants of the towns, despised, ruined, disarmed, were no longer possessed of any means of defence. Gaining a humble subsistence by a few of the mechanical trades, or living on the charity of the monks, they were not in a condition to inspire the nobles with any jealousy: nevertheless, these overbearing lords were indignant that men of such low birth and menial occupations should not be slaves; and, far from protecting them, they delighted in their sufferings and misfortunes. Hence the walls of the cities were suffered to go to decay; their civic guard or militia had ceased to assemble; the treasury of their municipal courts was empty; their magistrates commanded no respect. The largest cities were considered only, like villages, as the dependency of the neighbouring castle; and when a handful of pirates appeared before their gates, and threatened them with pillage, slavery, and death, the citizens knew of no other re-

source than to fly to the foot of the altar, or to the protection of the church, where the brutality of the conquerors soon overtook them. The rural population, reduced to the most abject state of slavery, and become almost indifferent to life, were hunted like wild beasts by the Normans and the Saracens, and perished by thousands in the woods. They had no heart to till or sow the fields they had so little hope of reaping; and every year brought with it a fresh pestilence or famine.

"The cities of Beauvais and Meaux are taken," wrote Ementarius, a contemporary historian; "the castle of Melun is devastated; Chartres is taken; Evreux is sacked; Bayeux and all the cities of that district are invaded; not a hamlet, not a village, not a convent, remains untouched; every one takes to flight; for rarely, indeed, do we find any one who dares to say, stay, resist, fight for your country, for your children, for the honour of your race." The Normans took advantage of this universal cowardice; and on the 28th of December, 856, they sailed up the Seine as high as Paris, which they entered and began to pillage. They first set fire to the churches of St. Peter and St. Geneviève; they then pillaged and burned all the others, with the exception of three, which were ransomed by a large sum of money.

"Who would not be afflicted," cries Aimoin, a contemporary monk of St. Germain des Près, "to see the army put to flight before the battle has begun? to see it terrified before the first arrow has flown? to see it overthrown before the shock of bucklers? But the Normans had perceived, during their sojourn at Rouen, that the lords of the country (we cannot say it without a profound grief of heart) were cowardly and fearful in battle."

The same author, in another place, introduces duke Rægner Lodbrog rendering an account to Horic, king of Denmark, of the taking of Paris. "And he related to him," says he, "how good and how fertile, and how filled with all good things he found the country; and how base and trembling the people who inhabited it

were in the moment of the fight. He added, that in this country the dead had more courage than the living; and that he had met with no other resistance than that which had been opposed to him by an old man called Germain, long since dead, whose house he had entered." Such is the antithesis by which Aimoin introduces the recital of a miracle of St. Germain, who drove the Norse pirate out of his temple.

The immense growth of priestly power and influence, during the reign of the Carlovingian sovereigns, was not one of the least among the causes of the universal decay of the Western empire, and the extinction of its military spirit. The importance of the priesthood had increased, not only by the increase of their numbers and their wealth, but by the progressive weakness of the other orders of the state.

For four centuries the most distinguished families of the Franks, — those who began to be considered superior to the others in blood as well as in riches, and who were called the nobility,—had become rapidly extinct; sometimes from the fury of foreign and domestic wars; sometimes from unbridled debauchery (the sole enjoyment of the rich in a barbarous state of society); or, lastly, from devotion, which, suddenly succeeding to the grossest licentiousness, consigned those to the walls of a convent who ought to have perpetuated their race.

The chasms caused by the extinction of these noble families were not filled by a succession of new families raised from the inferior ranks; there was scarcely any communication between the different classes of society, nor was any gradual approximation possible. When an opulent family became extinct, a part of its property went by inheritance to some other family already possessed of large landed property; so that the estates of the remaining families became more and more extensive. The rest, often the largest part, according to the degree of piety of the testator, went to the church; and this church, which was incessantly acquiring, and had no power of alienating, saw the boundaries of the lands over

which she claimed a right, enlarging with every succeeding generation, nay, with every succeeding year. It is impossible to read the early French chronicles, without being struck with the progressive diminution of the number of personages they introduce on the stage. The farther we advance, the more are we surprised to see all the nobles,—we might almost say all the citizens,—of a great kingdom, of whom we have obtained any knowledge, dwindle away to four or five counts and as many abbots.

As we continue our researches, we soon remark that the abbots gradually hold a larger place in history than the counts. The ecclesiastical benefices were become too rich not to excite the ambition and cupidity of the most powerful lords. As the same families furnished recruits both to the army and the church, it sometimes happened that the abbots vied with the counts in ferocity, brutality, and debauchery. It was, however, more common to see the most thoughtful, sedate, and crafty youth of a family destined to the ecclesiastical profession; so that, with an ambition equal to that of the soldiers, the priests had a greater chance of success. When they met their brothers in the council, they would of course be superior to them in policy and in cunning. They had nearly succeeded in excluding them from the assemblies of the field of May, which they had converted into councils: they shared with them the command of the armies; for the abbots and prelates, disregarding the sacred canons, had arrogated to themselves the right of wielding the sword. They, however, generally felt that they were ill qualified for the profession of arms; and this diffidence of their military talents naturally led them to give a constant preference to negotiations over force; to neglect all that would have conduced to foster a warlike spirit among their vassals; and rather to enervate the population in every district which fell into their hands.

In the domains of the church,—and those domains perhaps then embraced more than half the territory of the Western empire,—all the influences of habit, of ex-

ample, of education, were exerted to extinguish the national courage. It was to the protection of relics and sanctuaries, never to that of their own right arm, that the faithful were exhorted to recur in all seasons of danger. Trial by battle gave place to ordeals quite as absurd and quite as dangerous, — those of fire and of boiling water, for instance, — but which did not tend to excite a warlike spirit among the vassals of the church. Military games and exercises were even forbidden, as profane shows little suitable for Christians.

Among the laity, talents found no reward, ambition had no object; all individuality of character was obliterated, and a moral lethargy seemed to have taken possession of the nobility, attenuated as it was in number and in influence. But the clergy had gathered the inheritance of all the secular passions, as well as of all the means of gratifying them: they united sacred learning to policy, and secured to those who distinguished themselves by their talents, their knowledge, or their character, an influence, a power, a glory, far superior to any that could have been acquired by the same individuals in ages the most favourable to letters.

It must be observed, however, that the three portions of Charlemagne's empire had not experienced a fate precisely similar. France, under Charles the Bald, had fallen into the power of the bishops: the nobility was feeble; the army spiritless; the rural population almost annihilated. In Italy, under Lothaire and his son, Louis II., the prelates had not succeeded in gaining possession of so large a share of influence, or so large an extent of territory: but powerful dukes had established vast and wealthy governments, which they had rendered almost hereditary in their families; and though the country did not prosper under their administration, they had maintained a free and martial population in their castles and strong places, and some opulence in the cities. Lastly, Germany, under Louis the Germanic, had preserved more of a military spirit than either of the other two divisions; a population proportionally more

numerous, and more freemen in proportion to the serfs. Thus France was become a theocracy, Italy a confederation of princes, and Germany an armed democracy.

It appears to us, that our readers would find little interest and less profit in a catalogue of the family wars which troubled this period. Charles the Bald, who never defended his states from aggression, was incessantly occupied in endeavours to wrest Aquitaine from his nephew Pepin II.; nor did he keep the peace better with his brothers Lothaire and Louis the Germanic, nor with their sons: but these wretched struggles, though sufficient to ruin provinces, did not deserve to be considered as national wars. They had no political results, save that of adding to the general stock of misery; and made no change in the distribution of empires.

In the beginning of the year 855, the emperor Lothaire, then about sixty years of age, was attacked by a slow fever, from which he was sensible he should never recover. He divided his states among his three sons, then of mature age. To Louis II. he gave Italy, with the title of emperor; to Lothaire II. the provinces situated between the Meuse and the Rhine, which had long been known under the name of Austrasia, but which were now called Lothringen, or Lorraine, from the names of their sovereigns. Charles, the youngest son, had the provinces lying between the Rhine and the Alps, which were then called the government of Provence. After making this partition, the emperor Lothaire assumed the monkish habit, in the abbey of Prom, in the Ardennes, where he died on the 28th of September, 855. It appears that Charles the Bald had, on his side, given the titles of kings of Neustria and of Aquitaine to his two sons; and Louis the Germanic, those of kings of Bavaria, Saxony, and Swabia to his three sons. So that the Carlovingian family, at this time, numbered a large body of crowned heads.

The part played by the clergy in the wars between these different monarchs, the arrogance of their reprimands, and the humility and submissiveness of the

kings, would be worthy of particular attention; and more minute details would prove the justness of our remarks on the general state of Europe; but, pressed by time, and restricted within the proportions we are bound to observe between the various parts of our narrative, we shall content ourselves with offering, in the most succinct manner in our power, one example of his domination;—the history of the quarrels of the young Lothaire, king of Lorraine, with the court of Rome, on the subject of his marriages. It was a great step gained by the popes when they succeeded in establishing their jurisdiction over monarchs in matters relating to their dissolute pleasures.

In the year 856, Lothaire had married Theutberge, daughter of count Boson of Burgundy, but the next year he put her away, accusing her of incest with her brother, abbot of the convents of St. Maurice and Luxeu. As the queen had purged herself from this allegation by the ordeal of boiling water, out of which her champion had come unharmed, Lothaire had been compelled to take her back in 868. Nevertheless, not only had he another attachment, but he pretended that he was under solemn engagements to another woman. He affirmed that, before his union with Theutberge, he had been betrothed to Walrade, sister of the archbishop of Cologne, and mother of the archbishop of Trèves; that he had quitted her, in consequence of constraint alone (during a civil war), and that he had never ceased to look upon her as his lawful wife.

Theutberge had been taken back by her husband; but, perhaps in order to escape the humiliations she had to experience in a palace in which she had been reinstated by force, perhaps as a homage to truth, she made a voluntary confession, in the month of January, 860, of the incest of which she had been accused. The bishops assembled in council at Aix-la-Chapelle, before whom she made this confession, pronounced sentence of divorce, and condemned her to be confined in a convent. Shortly after, she found means to escape, and the whole

priesthood of Christendom now took cognisance of this quarrel. We have no means of determining whether the zeal with which they opposed the divorce of Theutberge arose from an *esprit de corps*, which rendered them anxious to save the reputation of the abbot of St. Maurice; or merely from the desire of the clergy to preserve an absolute jurisdiction over marriage, and to keep all sovereigns in a state of dependence upon them. The Merovingian kings had had several wives at a time (not to mention their numerous mistresses), and had repudiated them according to their own caprices: Charlemagne had followed their example. Louis I. had adopted a morality more in conformity with the laws of religion and the injunctions of the clergy. It appeared to them that the attempt of Lothaire to shake off their yoke, ought to be punished in a manner so exemplary as to strike terror into all others. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, took upon himself to prove that, even though Theutberge should have been guilty of incest before her marriage, it was not a sufficient reason for pronouncing sentence of divorce.

We cannot follow out the history of the different councils, which alternately dissolved the marriage of Theutberge, and forced Lothaire to take her again. We shall pass over the details of this scandalous affair, which for fifteen years occupied the attention of the Christendom. We need scarcely say, that the forced union of Lothaire and Theutberge increased the hatred and resentment of each towards the other. Lothaire ceased not to solicit permission to repair to Rome, to explain and justify his conduct; whilst Nicholas I., who then occupied the papal throne, haughtily refused his request. Theutberge, on her side, petitioned to be allowed to separate herself from a husband whom she rendered miserable, and with whom she could enjoy no happiness. The reply of pope Nicholas was as follows:—"We are equally astonished at the expressions contained in thy letters, and in the discourses of thy deputies, and at remarking so complete a change in thy style and in thy demands. We do not

forget that in former times thou laidst before us nothing of the like kind. Every body attests to us that thou art borne down by an unceasing affliction, by an intolerable oppression, by a hateful violence; whilst thou, on the contrary, affirmest that no one constrains thee when thou demandest to be stripped of the royal dignity. As to the testimony thou offerest in favour of Walrade, declaring that she had been the lawful wife of Lothaire, it is of no avail that thou labourest to establish this point. No one needs thy testimony concerning it. It is for us to know what is just; it is for us to decide what is equitable; and even wert thou thyself reprobate or dead, never would we permit Lothaire to take his mistress Walrade to wife."

After the death of Nicholas I., however, the moment arrived in which the Holy See permitted Lothaire to repair to Rome, in order to justify himself. He thought he had merited special favour in consequence of his having led an army against the Saracens, who laid waste the south of Italy, and had menaced even the papal dominions, then governed by Adrian II. But the heads of the church judged it more important to prove that, even in this world, the highest dignities did not shelter sinners from her judgments.

About the end of July, 869, Lothaire made his entry into Rome. Already he might have perceived that the vengeance of the church was suspended over his head. But we shall confine ourselves to a report of the words of archbishop Hincmar, the author of the annals of St. Bertin, and shall leave the reader to draw the conclusions which the facts may appear to him to warrant.

"When pope Adrian returned to Rome, Lothaire, who followed him, arrived at the church of St. Peter; but not a single priest presented himself to receive him, and he was alone with his own followers when he advanced to the tomb of the apostle. He afterwards entered some rooms, close to that church, which he was to inhabit, but they had not even been swept for his reception. He thought that on the following day, which

was Sunday, mass would be performed before him; but this he could by no means obtain from the pope. Nevertheless he entered Rome the next day, and dined with the pope himself in the palace of the Lateran, where they gave each other presents."

Adrian afterwards invited Lothaire and all his court to a solemn communion; but it was accompanied with circumstances, which were calculated to strike him with terror. "After the mass was concluded," says the contemporary author of the annals of Metz, "the sovereign pontiff, taking in his hands the body and the blood of the Lord, called the king to the table of Christ, and spoke to him thus:—"If thou knowest thyself to be innocent of the crime of adultery, for which thou wert excommunicated by our sovereign lord Nicholas, and if thou art thoroughly determined in thy heart never again in thy life to hold criminal commerce with Walrade thy mistress, approach with confidence, and receive the sacrament of redemption, which shall be to thee the pledge of the remission of thy sins, and of thy eternal salvation. But if thou hast proposed in thy soul to yield again to the blandishments of thy mistress, beware of taking this sacrament, lest that which the Lord hath prepared as a remedy for his faithful servants, be converted into a chastisement for thee."

Lothaire, confused and agitated by this address, received the communion from the hands of the pontiff, without any retractation; after which Adrian, turning to the companions of the king, offered to each the communion in these words:—"'If thou hast not given thy consent to the sins of thy king Lothaire, and if thou hast not held intercourse with Walrade, nor with the others whom the Holy See hath excommunicated, may the body and the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to thee eternal life!' Every one of them, feeling himself compromised, took the communion with a rash boldness. This was on Sunday, the 31st of July, of the year 869; and every one of them died by a judgment of heaven, before the first day of the next year. There were a

very small number who avoided taking the communion, and who thus saved themselves from death."

Lothaire himself, on quitting Rome, was attacked with the disease with which the pontiff had threatened him as a chastisement. He, however, dragged himself as far as Piacenza, where he expired on the 8th of August. From the time he quitted the gates of Rome, all his followers, all who had received the holy elements from the hands of the pontiff, fell at his side; there were but very few who reached Piacenza with the king; the rest died on the way. Adrian acknowledged the judgment of God in this calamity, and announced it to the kings of the earth, as an awful lesson of submission to the church.

This appeal to the judgment of God was then universally resorted to for the discovery of every sort of crime. When it was invoked, it was indifferent whether a poison or a wholesome beverage was offered to the accused. For the innocent, the poison became innoxious: after an invocation like Adrian's, the bread of life would, to the guilty, be transmuted into poison.

# CHAP. XX.

CHARACTER OF CHARLES THE BALD. — HIS REIGN. — DEATH OF PEPIN II. — SONS OF LOTHAIRE. — WARS AMONG THE CARLOVINGIAN PRINCES. — CHARLES'S CRUELTY TO HIS SONS. — POPE JOHN VIII. — WEAKNESS OF CHARLES'S GOVERNMENT. — INVASIONS OF THE SARACENS AND NORMANS. — NORMAN SETTLEMENTS IN FRANCE. — THEIR RAVAGES. — DEATH OF CHARLES THE BALD. — INVASION OF ITALY BY KARLOMAN OF BAVARIA. — HIS CORONATION. — HIS DEATH. — CHARLES THE FAT CROWNED EMPEROR AT ROME BY POPE JOHN VIII. — LOUIS OF SAXONY. — CHARLES THE FAT. — HIS CHARACTER. — CONVERSION OF COUNTSHIPS INTO HEREDITARY OFFICES. — INCREASED POWER OF THE ARISTOCRACY AND THE CHURCH. — LOUIS THE STAMMERER. — HIS SONS AND SUCCESSORS. — BOSON, COUNT OF BURGUNDY. — HIS ELEVATION. — FATE OF LOUIS III. AND HIS BROTHER KARLOMAN. — SUCCESSION OF CHARLES THE FAT TO THE WHOLE WESTERN EMPIRE. — SIEGE OF PARIS. — DEPOSITION AND DEATH OF CHARLES. — EXTINCTION OF THE LEGITIMATE CARLOVINGIAN LINE. — DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE INTO MANY STATES. — GENERAL DEGRADATION AND DEPOPULATION OF FRANCE. — INCURSIONS OF THE NORTHMEN, SARACENS, AND HUNS. — RISE OF FEUDAL INSTITUTIONS. — CONSEQUENT INCREASE OF POPULATION AND STRENGTH.

We have beheld the establishment of a universal monarchy; and, as far as it was possible within our narrow limits, we have marked what were the fatal consequences of that establishment to the population and to the character and courage of the nations incorporated into so huge and ill-compacted a mass. We have seen, after the neglect and violation of national interests, the disgraceful quarrels of rapacious princes kindle wars in which patriotism could have no share. We have seen the deplorable feebleness of this immense empire, exposed without defence to the violence of every predatory horde. In the two years which conclude the ninth century we

shall see it fall to pieces, and an infinite number of new monarchies and small principalities arise out of its ruins; at the same time we shall see the rapid extinction of the Carlovingian dynasty, every branch of which disappears, with the exception of one single offset, whose claims to the throne were long disowned and rejected. This last remaining heir of all the glory of the founders of his line, and of all the infamy of its later monarchs, Charles the Simple, did, it is true, recover the crown of France after the lapse of some years; and the Carlovingian dynasty is said to have reigned a century over the French, after it had lost the thrones of Germany and of Italy. But this century of lingering struggles of the royal line was rather a long interregnum, during which the title of king was preserved by men who were in fact no more than petty lords; while the nation, left to itself, began its work of self-reform, and new social bodies sprang out of the ruins of the mighty empire. France required a century more than its neighbours to reconstitute itself, because, of all the countries subject to the rule of Charlemagne, it was the one in which the power of the people had been the most completely annihilated, and, consequently, the one in which the fewest elements for the reconstruction of a new social fabric remained, after the dissolution of the old one.

In the period we have gone through, the different parts of the empire seemed to have no feeling of their separate interests, no peculiar recollections, no distinct rights. No illustrious name, no remarkable family, nothing provincial, individual, or local, attracts our attention. If this universal sameness and apathy has rendered the history we have treated of less dramatic, it has, on the other hand, left our minds at full liberty to follow the main current of common disasters, the general convulsions of the empire, undistracted by the varied and animated incidents which complicate, while they adorn, the history of a more fortunate age.

But this monotony is soon to cease. We are arrived at the point whence we begin to descry the rise of all

modern grandeur ; — of all the powerful families, all the provincial sovereignties, all the privileges, which, for eight centuries, have been set in opposition no less to the claims of the crown, than to the rights of the people. The name of nobility may have heretofore occurred in history; but a real nobility, such as it has existed under the monarchies of modern times, such as it has maintained itself in the character of an order in the state, can trace its origin no higher than to this era of the total disruption of the hitherto existing forms of society.

In like manner, we have seen the names of fief and *beneficium*, and indications of some feudal obligations ; but the feudal system, strictly speaking, did not arise till after this period of anarchy : it was the principle of a new order of things, which was substituted to a state of confusion and of suffering a hundred times worse than those which this system introduced or tolerated.

Of the thirty-two years which elapsed after the death of Lothaire the younger, to the end of the century, nine (A. D. 869—877) were filled by the disasters which raised Charles the Bald to the disgraceful possession of the imperial throne; eleven (A. D. 877—888), by the rapid mortality which carried off all the heads of the Carlovingian house, and the extinction of all the legitimate branches; twelve (889—900), by the civil wars which gave birth to the independent monarchies of Italy, Germany, France, Burgundy, and Provence. We should despair of being able to throw any light or any interest over the whole of this period, in which the characters become dim and colourless in proportion to the increase in the number of names. We must, however, take a summary review of it; for, however dense the cloud which obscures the circumstances of this revolution, the revolution itself was not the less important.

Fortune seemed to delight in elevating Charles the Bald, only to render more insupportable the humiliations to which she exposed him ; she heaped crowns upon the head from which she tore laurels. Incapable either of governing or of defending his kingdom ; suffering his

vassals to strip him of his provinces, and a handful of pirates to devastate the whole line of his coasts, his only chance of satisfying his ambition was from the calamities of his own kindred: and this kind of good fortune was not denied him. His brother Pepin had left two sons; Pepin II., king of Aquitaine, and Charles: the whole reign of Charles the Bald was one continued scene of aggressions upon them. Two several times he succeeded in taking them prisoners: the first time he only confined them in convents; but the second, Pepin having been betrayed into his power by Raifulf, count of Poictiers, the meeting of the states of France held at Pistes, in the month of June, 864, condemned the king of Aquitaine to death as apostate and traitor to his country. The sentence was, however, not executed, and Pepin II. died in the dungeon of a convent at Senlis.

The emperor Lothaire, elder brother of Charles, had left three sons: the youngest of whom, Charles, king of Provence, died in 875; the second, Lothaire, king of Lorraine, died in 869; lastly, the eldest, the emperor Louis II., who had inherited Italy, died at Brescia on the 12th of August, 875. Charles the Bald claimed to inherit the dominions of all three: he did not, however, obtain tranquil possession of them till after the death not only of his last surviving nephew, but after that of his own brother, Louis the Germanic, who died at Frankfurt on the 28th of August, 876. So long as Louis lived, he contended that he had an equal claim with Charles to the inheritance of his nephews: the frequent wars between them had given up the West to the incursions of barbarians, while those who ought to have been its defenders, were occupied in shedding each other's blood. Louis the Germanic left three sons, among whom he divided his states. He gave to Karloman, Bavaria; to Louis, Saxony and Thuringia; and to Charles the Fat, Swabia. Charles the Bald at first flattered himself that he should strip his German nephews of their birthright, as he had stripped those of

Italy and Aquitaine: but he was beaten on the 7th of October, 876, by Louis of Saxony, at Andernach, and the following year put to flight in Italy by Karloman; so that in this instance his injustice and rapacity brought him nothing but defeat and disaster.

Even his own sons furnished occasion for the scandalous and atrocious exploits of a prince whose whole life was passed in acts of hostility and usurpation towards his nearest relations, while he shrank from encountering his own and his subjects' real and formidable foes,—the Normans and the Saracens. To his two elder sons, Louis and Charles, he had given the two crowns of Neustria and Aquitaine: both of them revolted, and were conquered. The younger, Charles, died soon after of a wound received in a mock engagement: Louis the Stammerer survived his father, but with a ruined constitution and an enfeebled intellect. His two younger sons, Charles the Bald had shut up in convents, where they were condemned to do penance, in conformity with the opinions of the age, for the sins of their father. Karloman, however, impatient of restraint and averse from a religious life, escaped from the cloister, and committed various acts of violence and disorder in Lorraine. He was at length retaken by his father, who caused his eyes to be put out, in order that he might support his captivity with more patience. (A. D. 874.)

Such were the steps by which Charles the Bald ascended the imperial throne; his right to which was confirmed by pope John VIII. at the end of the year 875. "We have elected him," wrote the pontiff to a synod assembled at Pavia, "we have approved him with the consent of our brethren the bishops, of the other ministers of the holy Roman church, of the Roman senate and people." Thus did the pope claim the right of disposing of the imperial crown. He pretended to be the substitute for that whole nation of senators and warriors whose representative he called himself, and in whose name he invoked the names and the institutions of

antiquity to sanction the domination of a modern autocrat. Never had the greatest of the Frankic princes been eulogised or held up as a model to mankind, as was the feeble Charles the Bald. In fact, he, who during his whole life had trembled in abject subservience to the prelates of his own kingdom, must needs have appeared to John VIII. the best of sovereigns, inasmuch as he was the most submissive to the power of Rome.

It was not long, however, before the very pope who had crowned him began to perceive that it was not enough to give to the empire a chief pious, timid, and obsequious; who would resist no usurpation, who would check no abuse; that it stood in need of an energetic ruler. Every one wanted to free himself from the national power wielded by the monarch, though at the same time every one would have desired that this national power should exist for his own defence. It was soon proved that all the force which had been committed to the hands of Charles the Bald had fallen to utter destruction. The Saracens, whom Louis II. had resisted with an honourable persistency in the duchy of Benevento, since the king of the Franks had become emperor, menaced the capital of Christendom. "The heathens," says John in a letter to Charles the Bald, "and wicked Christians, who are without the fear of God, overwhelm us with such a multitude of evils, that nothing comparable to it can be found in the memory of man. The remnant of the people have retreated within the walls of the holy city; there they struggle against inexpressible poverty and want, while the whole region without the walls of Rome is laid waste, and reduced to a solitude. There remains to us but one evil to fear, and may God avert that from us,—the loss and the ruin of Rome itself."

It was less with the view of carrying to the pope the succours he demanded, than for the sake of escaping from the sight of the ravages the Northmen were committing throughout the west of France, that Charles the Bald resolved to march a second time into Italy. The

Northmen had established military colonies on the Seine, at a place called Le Bec d'Oisel; on the Somme, the Scheldt, the Loire, the Garonne, and, lastly, in the island of Camargue in the Rhone. Hither they retired with their vessels; here they deposited their booty; and hence they issued forth again to carry their ravages into the heart of the kingdom.

"There was not a city, not a village, not a hamlet," says the contemporary author of the account of the miracles of St. Benedict, "which had not in its turn experienced the frightful barbarity of the pagans. They scoured these provinces at first on foot, for they were ignorant of the use of cavalry, but afterwards on horseback, like our own people. The stations of their vessels were so many storehouses for their plunder: near these ships, which were moored to the shore, they built huts, which at length seemed to form large villages, and in them they kept their troops of captives bound with chains."

Charles, who had assembled a numerous army to accompany him into Italy, instead of attempting to expel these piratical invaders, contented himself with fixing the tribute which certain provinces should pay to the Normans of the Seine, others to the Normans of the Loire, to put a stop to their depredations. As to the Normans of the Garonne, they had reduced Aquitaine to so abject a state, that the pope transferred the archbishop Frothaire from the diocese of Bordeaux to that of Bourges, alleging that "the province of Bordeaux was made entirely desert by the pagans."

But scarcely had Charles met the pope at Pavia, when the news of the approach of his nephew, Karloman, with an army levied in the provinces which now constitute Austria, struck him with terror. The German historians, indeed, accuse him of habitual cowardice. He fled across Mont Cenis; and in that alpine region was attacked with a violent fever, and died at a place called Brios, on the 6th of October, 877.

Karloman, whose mere approach had sufficed to put to flight his imperial uncle, had yet no reason to congratulate himself on the issue of his Italian expedition. He was crowned at Pavia, with the consent of the Lombard nobles, and from that time bore the title of king of Italy. But the plague broke out in his army, and he himself was attacked with a complaint which was attended by extreme debility, followed by paralysis, and, finally, brought him to the grave, on the 22d of March, 880.

He left only one son, a bastard, Arnulf, whom he had made duke of Kärnthen, or Carinthia: he had no legitimate children. Two brothers had divided with him the inheritance of their father, Louis the Germanic: they watched the course of his long illness, and awaited his death to partition the kingdoms of Bavaria and Italy, over which Karloman had reigned: their attention was thus in some measure diverted from France, on which, however, they made some attempts. After the death of Karloman, Charles the Fat entered Italy at the head of an army. At Pavia he received the crown of Lombardy; and at Rome, about the end of the year 880, he was invested with that of the empire by pope John VIII. He united both to Swabia, his original inheritance. The other brother, Louis of Saxony, annexed Bavaria, which he acquired at Karloman's death, to the dukedom he had received from his father. Louis had only one legitimate son, who, while still a minor, fell from a window of the palace of Regensburg, and was killed: he had also a natural son, named Hugo, who was slain about the same time in an engagement with the Normans near the forest of Carbonaria. Having thus survived both his sons, Louis of Saxony, who had probably not yet attained his fiftieth year, fell ill, and died at Frankfurt, on the 20th of January, 882.

By the death of his cousins, to each of whose territories he became heir in succession, Charles the Fat—whose surname, Crassus, would be still better rendered

by the Gross*—acquired an elevation to which he had little claim on the score of merit. His enormously corpulent body was, in fact, the covering of a sluggish and imbecile mind. He appeared scarcely susceptible of any other desire, of any other thought, than those engendered by his immoderate love of eating; and the higher the dignities which fortune showered upon him, the more glaring did his supineness and incapacity become to his people. Yet he was decorated with the imperial crown; he was sovereign of Italy and of the whole of Germany, before his time divided into three powerful kingdoms; and of that part of France called Lorraine. The rest, by that fatality which seemed attached to the whole Carlovingian race, was soon destined to devolve to him.

One only son had survived Charles the Bald: he was known by the name of Louis II., or the Stammerer. He was thirty years of age at the time of his father's death. His health was always precarious; his intellect was thought to be feeble, and his character more feeble still. Perhaps no energy, no ability, could have revived the empire from that state of languor and exhaustion in which Charles the Bald had left it.

The Northmen were encamped in all the provinces, while the prelates were the virtual sovereigns of the kingdom. The greater part of the territory belonged to the church, and the councils and convocations of the bishops and powerful abbots were the only bodies possessed of any authority. In the very year in which Charles the Bald died, he signed the edict of Xiersi (June 14. 877), by which he renounced the last fragment of his authority over the provinces. According to the capitularies of Charlemagne, the sovereign was to be represented in every province by a count, whom he nominated or dismissed at pleasure. These counts executed the royal commands; they were the commanders

* The author's word is *Epais*. We can hardly say Charles the Thick: though *thick*, doubtless, originally meant fat, as its German cognate *dick* still does. Charles was called by his subjects *Karl der dicke*. — *Transl.*

of the militia of freemen, and presided over the local courts and assemblies. But during the feeble government of the sons and of the grandsons of Charlemagne, the monarch had scarcely ever dared to exercise his right of dismissing the counts. He had allowed them to confound the delegated power which they held from him, with the patrimonial government of their feudal domain and vassals. This weakness Charles carried still farther. By the edict of Xiersi he bound himself always to bestow on the son of a count, and as a lawful inheritance, the honour of the countship (*l'honneur du comté*), which had been held by the father. By this edict the condition of the freeholders was rendered still more deplorable than before, since they had no longer any protection or appeal against the tyranny or oppression of the great proprietors; while the latter getting possession of almost all the counties, France was soon divided into as many independent sovereignties as there had been lord-lieutenancies held at the king's pleasure.

None of the counts, however, any more than any of the seignorial proprietors, had as yet presumed to claim the right of waging war. There had been a habitual want of obedience in the provinces; there had been occasional acts of disorder and violence, as was to be expected from the anarchical state of the kingdom; but no count or lord had as yet imagined that his rank or dignity authorised him to right himself with his sword: and some of them having tried to fortify their houses, as a means of securing themselves against the predatory attacks of the Normans, and to surround them with a wall which gave them the appearance of a castle, the edict of Pistes, of the month of June, 864, ordered that every castle constructed without the express permission of the king should be rased to the ground before the 1st of August then following.

But hardly had the edict of Xiersi rendered the countships hereditary in the families of the nobles, when the crown ceased to be so in the royal family. A part

of the counts and abbots of France refused to acknowledge Louis the Stammerer as successor to his father. They assembled in arms at Avenay in Champagne, and it was not till after considerable negotiation that they consented to meet him at Compiègne. They obliged him to confirm all the ancient laws and privileges of the church and the nobles; they exacted from him an amnesty in favour of all who had taken arms against him; they made him promise to maintain the discipline of the church; to style himself king *by the grace of God and the election of the people;* and at length they consented, in the name of the bishops, abbots, nobles, and others, to his coronation, which took place on the 8th of December, 877.

Louis the Stammerer did not reign two years under the protection of this aristocracy and that of pope John VIII., who had repaired to France, where his demeanour was far more that of a sovereign than the king's. In obedience to his father's commands, Louis had divorced his first wife, by whom he had two sons, Louis and Karloman; and had married a second wife, by whom he had a third son, Charles, afterwards surnamed the Simple. The king applied to the pope to sanction a divorce which had been compulsory, and thus to settle the question of the legitimacy of his children; but John VIII. chose to declare himself for the first wife and against the second; thus introducing fresh confusion into the royal house.

While things were in this posture, and after the pope had taken his departure, Louis the Stammerer died at Compiègne on the 10th of April, 879. His two sons, the eldest of whom was not above seventeen, were again the sport of that ecclesiastical aristocracy which assumed the right of disposing of the crown; and, after stripping themselves still farther of their prerogatives, the princes were at length crowned, at the abbey of Ferrières, near Paris, by Ansegise, archbishop of Sens.

At the same time, however, a count of Burgundy, named Boson, brother of the second wife of Charles the

Bald, and to whom that monarch had granted several governments in Lombardy and in Provence, intrigued with pope John VIII. to secure his own elevation to the throne. Spite of all the influence of that pontiff, who declared that he adopted him as a son, Boson did not succeed in Lombardy. He was more successful in Provence, where he distributed a great number of abbeys and benefices among the bishops and archbishops, having bound himself to guarantee them in such a manner that they might unite them to their pastoral duties. Having thus secured their suffrages, he convoked them for the month of October, 879, to a diet which he held at the castle of Mantaille, between Vienne and Valance. The six archbishops of Vienne, Lyons, Tarentaise, Aix, Arles, and Besançon, met there, together with seventeen bishops of the same provinces. Counts and other lay lords appear also to have attended this meeting; but such was their state of subjection to the prelates, that they were not even called on to sign the acts of the diet, nor was any mention made of their names.

The prelates of the diet or council of Mantaille adjudged the crown to count Boson, in order, as they said, that he might defend them against the attacks of Satan, and those of their visible and corporeal enemies. The strangest thing, however, is, that they assigned no limits to the kingdom they thus founded — that they gave it no name, either of a nation, or of a province. We should look in vain through the acts of the council for the name of the kingdom of Arles and Provence, which this state afterwards bore. We find, however, the speech addressed by Boson to the assembly. It may serve to give us some idea of the new theocracy to which France was subject.

"It is the fervour of your charity," said he, "which, inspired by God, induces you to raise me to this office, in order that, with my feeble powers, I may combat in the service of my holy mother — the church of the living God. But I know my condition: I am but a

frail earthen vessel, entirely unworthy of so exalted a charge. And therefore I should not have hesitated to refuse it, were I not convinced that it is the will of God, who has given you but one heart and one soul for this determination. Seeing, then, that I am bound to obey priests inspired by Heaven, and my own friends and faithful servants, I do not resist — I should not dare to do so, or to rebel against your orders. And as you yourselves have given me the rule which I ought to follow in my future government, and have instructed me according to the holy precepts of the church, I undertake this great work with confidence."

Louis III. and Karloman, the young sons of Louis the Stammerer, tried in vain to defend Provence, which formed a considerable part of their inheritance, against the aggressions of Boson; or to repel the Normans, who had poured down with fresh fury on the coasts of Neustria and Aquitaine. Their term of life was not sufficiently extended to allow them to carry through any of their enterprises, nor even to give France an opportunity of judging of their characters and talents. Louis III., riding one day, met the daughter of a Frank nobleman, named Gormond, and was struck by her remarkable beauty. He called her; and the young girl, terrified at his discourse, and at the royal tone of familiarity he assumed, instead of answering him, fled to the shelter of her father's house. Louis determined to follow her; and putting spurs to his horse, dashed forward, intending to ride through the door, which stood open. He had not, however, taken accurate measure of the height of the doorway. He received a blow on the head, which, at the same time, threw him against his saddle bow with such violence as to break his back. In this state, he ordered his attendants to carry him to the convent of St. Denis, where he hoped to be restored by the intercession of the saints. There, however, he died, on the 5th of August, 882.

Karloman, who now united his brother's inheritance to that portion of France which he already possessed, sur-

vived him only two years. As he was one day hunting the wild boar in the forest of Baisieu, he was accidentally wounded in the leg by the sword of one of his companions. The wound gangrened, and in seven days, on the 6th of December, 884, he died, aged only eighteen.

The two young princes died without issue. Their half-brother, Charles the Simple, not only was still an infant, but was regarded as a bastard, his mother's marriage having been declared null by the pope. Charles the Fat was the sole remaining heir of the blood of Charlemagne; and on the head of that monarch, brutified as he was by intemperance — to whom no one would have intrusted the care of the most insignificant of his private affairs — descended the united crowns of Bavaria, Swabia, Saxony, France (eastern and western), Aquitaine, and Italy. The whole extent of the empire subject to the sway of Charlemagne was equally subject to him; and the Germanic part of it was far more populous, far more civilised, and perhaps, far more powerful, than it had been under the great conqueror. It seemed as if the whole West was confided to hands so utterly weak and incompetent, for the sake of furnishing to mankind a striking proof of the fatal effects of a universal monarchy, and of a corrupting form of government. The entire Western empire, united under one head, and with not an enemy save a handful of sea-robbers, could not defend itself against them on a single point.

Paris was besieged by the Northmen for a whole year (A. D. 885, 886), during which the whole Gallic nobility did not march a single soldier to its defence; during which the monarch did not fight a single battle for the deliverance of the capital of one of his greatest kingdoms. The citizens, however, seeing no resource but in their own despair, resisted with their own unassisted strength, and they repulsed the Normans.

At this same time Rome was menaced by the Saracens; and the troops of Charles the Fat, instead of defending the capital of Christendom, pillaged Pavia,

in which they were quartered. Every thing seemed to conspire to render the last of the Carlovingian emperors ridiculous and despicable, — even to the charges he brought against his wife at the diet at Kirkheim, and the revelations she was obliged to make in her own defence. The precarious and declining health of Charles the Fat might have inclined the people to await the near termination of his life; but the evident decay of his reason rendered it imperative on the nobility and leading men to settle the future government of the kingdom. A diet of the Germanic states was convoked at the palace of Tribur, on the Rhine; they came to a resolution to offer the crown to Arnulf, duke of Kärnthen, or Carinthia, a natural son of Karloman, and nephew of the emperor. In three days, Charles the Fat was so completely deserted, that he had hardly sufficent servants about his person to render him the common offices of humanity; and Liutberg, bishop of Mainz, was obliged to supplicate Arnulf to secure the means of subsistence to his uncle. Some church property was accordingly set apart for that purpose, which Charles needed but for a few weeks: he died on the 12th of January, 888, at a castle called Indinga, in Swabia.

If the subjects of Charles — those whom the imbecility of this great-grandson of Charlemagne had reduced to the most deplorable state, — avenged themselves by heaping contempt and scorn upon his memory, the clergy had a very different standard by which to try the virtues of a king. They honoured Charles the Fat almost as a saint. "He was," says Rhegius, contemporary abbot of Pruem, "a most Christian prince, fearing God, and obeying his commands with all his heart. He also obeyed the precepts of the clergy with the most profound devotion. He gave abundant alms; he was constantly occupied in prayer and in chanting of psalms; he was indefatigable in repeating God's praises, and he put all his hope, and all his trust, in the Divine grace. He therefore regarded the tribulations of his latter

years as a purifying trial, which was to secure to him the crown of life." The annals of Fulda even relate, that "the heavens were seen to open to receive him, so that it might be made evident, that he whom men had despised, was the sovereign the most acceptable to God."

The people of Europe had been so long accustomed to the hereditary descent of monarchical power, that, at the extinction of the family of Charlemagne, they hesitated for some time before they would choose rulers who were not of that line. Nevertheless Arnulf, the bastard son of Karloman, to whom the crown of Germany had been offered, was not recognised by the other western states. The most powerful of the dukes and counts, especially those who could claim some kindred with the family of Charlemagne, either through an illegitimate or a female branch, called together diets in all directions, bought the suffrages of their partisans by ample concessions, and got themselves crowned with the title of kings.

In the course of the same year (888), Eudes, count of Paris, who had displayed some bravery in the defence of that city against the Normans, was crowned at Compiègne, and acknowledged by Neustria. Rainulf II., count of Poitiers, with the approbation of another diet, took the title of king of Aquitaine. Guido, duke of Spoleto, who had fiefs and partisans in France, was proclaimed by a diet of the kingdom of Lorraine, assembled at Langres, and was anointed and crowned by the bishop of that city; but finding in a short time that his followers were lukewarm in his cause, he returned to Italy, where, in 890, he obtained the crown of Lombardy and that of the empire, which he shared with his son Lambert. Another diet had adjudged the crown of Lombardy to Berenger, duke of Friuli, in 888. Between the Jura and the Alps, a count Rudolf, who governed Helvetia, assembled a diet at St. Maurice, in the Valais, caused himself to be crowned, and founded the new monarchy of Transjurane Burgundy. At Valence, Louis, the son of Boson, was crowned, in

890, king of Provence. At Vannes, Alain, surnamed the Great, was crowned king of Britany. In Gascony, Sanchez, surnamed Mitarra, contented himself with the title of duke; but at the same time disclaimed all allegiance to France.

At the moment of the formation of all these new kingdoms, the torch of western history seems suddenly quenched. For near half a century all the chronicles are mute. Wars between these numerous sovereigns, (to whom we have to add Charles the Simple, crowned at Rheims on the 28th of January, 893, and Zwentibold, natural son of Arnulf, crowned king of Lorraine, at Worms, in 895), filled the twelve remaining years of the century; but they were languidly carried on by sovereigns without troops, dependent on vassals with whom they were always obliged to compromise, and whom they did not dare to command. A universal confusion reigned throughout the West, but no individual character is sufficiently striking to excite our curiosity; and, perhaps, we ought to be grateful to the chroniclers whose silence prevents us from involving ourselves in such a labyrinth.

The deposition of Charles the Fat, and the extinction of the legitimate Carlovingian race, overthrew the colossal empire reared by Charlemagne; and in the partition of the provinces of which it was composed, gave occasion to continual wars; to an anarchy, a confusion of rights and claims, which we are led, at first sight, to think must have aggravated the sufferings of the already miserable people. And we accordingly find, that almost all modern writers agree in representing the deposition of Charles the Fat, and the first interregnum which followed it in the western empire, as a calamity which replunged Europe into the state of barbarism whence Charlemagne had begun to raise it. We are likewise left without the guidance of historical documents at this period, and we have to grope our way through a century in darkness almost as complete as that which precedes the reign of Charlemagne.

Nevertheless, it was in the midst of this obscurity that new and numerous states came into existence; that a population which had been almost destroyed began to recover itself; that some virtues, the virtues of feudalism at least, were once more held in honour; that national courage, which seemed extinct, regained all its loftiness and splendour, at least among the aristocracy. The first century of the government of the Carlovingians destroyed old France; the second, which equally bears their name, though the power of Charles the Simple and of his children was but a shadow, re-created modern France.

The period which we have just passed through is probably without a parallel in history for its calamities, its weakness, and its infamy. Although military courage be far from the first of social virtues, its complete annihilation is, perhaps, the most certain indication of the extinction of all others. It throws a nation into such a state of abject dependence on every vicissitude and on every foe, that if it were possible to unite all the advantages of the most perfect government with the cowardice of a whole people, all those advantages would be utterly valueless, since they would be utterly without security.

But the history of the world presents us with no example of pusillanimity comparable to that of the subjects of the empire when they allowed themselves to be plundered, made captive, and slaughtered by the Northmen. It was not a great people which poured down upon them; it was not those successive waves of northern barbarians that inundated the Roman empire. It was, on the contrary, handfuls of pirates; adventurers who landed on the coasts of France in open barks, lightly armed, and almost without horses.

In times less remote we have seen the flourishing empires of Peru and Mexico ravaged, and ultimately conquered, by bands of warriors scarcely more numerous. But the Spaniards had fire-arms, cuirasses, and helmets impenetrable to the arrows of the Indians; while, on the

other hand, their finely tempered sabres cut through all the Indian armour. They had horses trained to war and exulting in battle, which bore their riders with frightful rapidity against enemies who always fought on foot. Lastly, they had vessels which the Americans took for winged monsters, vomiting fire and flame.

It was not thus that the Northmen disembarked from their wattled boats on the banks of the Seine and the Loire. Their bodies were half naked, their weapons were inferior to those of the people of the south, who had so long been masters of the mechanical arts. But these northern sea-robbers were superior in warlike virtues to the two other wandering nations who also ravaged the empire. The Saracens had lost their victorious fanaticism and their love of glory, during the decay of the empire of the Khaliphs; and their expeditions into Italy and Provence had no longer any incentive but the love of plunder. The Hungarians, who inspired so much terror in Germany, rode little horses, which a Frank soldier would have disdained; they wore a fur coat instead of a cuirass, and a light lance stood them in stead of sword or sabre. But Saracens, Hungarians, or Normans, all had to deal with disarmed and degraded peasants, and a degenerate nobility. They found victims, not enemies, in the empire of the West.

The moral explanation of this double revolution, which in the ninth century annihilated the national courage and destroyed the population; and in the tenth, multiplied the people and gave force and elevation to their character, is to be sought less in public institutions than in the personal interest of the great proprietors. The consolidation of the empire of Charlemagne into one body, had delivered the minds of the great proprietors from all expectation of proximate war. They no longer occupied themselves in any degree with the means of defending their domains, or of multiplying the men-at-arms who lived upon them; their whole attention was directed to the extracting from them the greatest possible revenues; and in every age and country

masters and landlords have been disposed to think that they were enriching themselves when they made harder terms with their serfs or tenants, when they succeeded in loading them with more onerous obligations and in extorting larger rents. Thus it was that the great mass of the nation became enslaved. But slavery and extortion soon produced their wonted effect; families became extinct, or fled; the population disappeared, and the greater part of France was changed into a desert. The great proprietors saw without regret, that the manses, or habitations, for each of which they were obliged to furnish a soldier to the king, were abandoned. They thought it more profitable to themselves to turn their arable land into pasture, and to multiply flocks and herds in proportion as men diminished. They could not understand that a country cannot be rich when it ceases to furnish consumers, when it no longer contains a nation to feed. They fell into the same error into which we have seen the lairds of the north of Scotland fall in our own days.

The rapid extinction of the rural population was the grand cause of the exposed state in which the empire was found by the hordes of brigands who ravaged it. We have, it is true, no accurate information concerning this fluctuation in the population. The historians of the time never thought of giving any account or explanation of it; but, in reading their narrative of events, it is impossible not to be struck with the solitude into which we are introduced. It appears as if nothing was left in France but convents, scattered here and there amid vast tracts of forest. The cities had lost, in the ninth century, the importance they possessed under the first line of kings. We no longer read of intestine factions, nor of popular tumults, nor of municipal governments, nor of the resistance they could oppose to an enemy. Their gates stand open to any who are disposed to enter them. Often, indeed, the chronicles tell us that they were burned by the Normans; but the damage is always represented as less, and the booty car-

ried off as inferior in value, in these cases, than when the same spoilers attack a monastery. The existence of the peasantry is as completely overlooked as that of the flocks with which they are confounded in one common oblivion: all that we can discover is, that the distrust of their masters had left them no means of resistance; and, accordingly, the Northmen, after carrying off the wives and daughters of the peasants, after massacring the old men and the priests, roamed about the country, alone, or in small parties, wherever their inclination or the chase might lead them, without the slightest fear of the vengeance of the natives.

Even among the higher nobility and clergy we are amazed at the small number of persons who appear at any given time on the stage. A single count unites in his own person the titles of a great number of counties; a single prelate, the revenues of a great number of abbeys; and when the abbot Hugues, of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, and of St. Martin de Tours, is called by the historians of the time *l'Espérance des Gaules*, we feel that the French people are degraded to the condition of men owned in *main morte* by a convent.

So long as the nation was reduced to such a state of feebleness, of political ignorance, of opposition between the interests of the higher classes and those of the mass, a central government could be of no advantage to France or to Europe: it could serve only to perpetuate this universal degradation. It was therefore a happy event for humanity that the tie which held together the social body was forcibly broken at the time of the deposition of Charles the Fat, and that the western empire was divided into several monarchies, which were soon split up again into an infinite number of smaller states. When civilisation has made great progress, the formation of large states presents great advantages: knowledge and intelligence are more easily and rapidly diffused; commerce is more active, more regular, and more independent of the errors of politicians; the power, the wealth, the talents which are at the disposal of government are

far greater; and, if the rulers know how to make a good use of it, the progress of the species will be much more rapid. But, on the other hand, it is a far more difficult matter to establish a wise, tutelary, and free constitution in a great than in a small state; while it is much more easy to the former than to the latter to dispense with those advantages. A great empire sustains itself by its mass, in spite of almost intolerable abuses; while a small state has no chance of permanent existence unless it be supported by some degree of patriotism and of general prosperity.

The government of the Carlovingians had survived more calamities than would have sufficed to overthrow, ten times over, the governments which succeeded it. It fell beneath them, indeed, at last, but not till it had reached the lowest stage of contemptible imbecility. Those who gathered the fragments of the ruin were, perhaps, superior neither in talents, nor in virtues, nor in energy, to the wretched emperors who had suffered it to fall to decay; but, as their interests were more nearly allied with those of the mass, they were sooner brought to some understanding of them. When, for their own defence, force became of more value to them than riches, no high degree of perspicacity was necessary to perceive that they gained force in proportion as they increased the well-being of their subjects.

Little more than twenty years had elapsed since the edict of Pistes had caused the total demolition of the fortifications which a few nobles had raised around their houses, as a defence against the Northmen. At that period, property, which gave the right of administering justice to vassals, the right of life and death over serfs, does not yet appear to have existed as a political force; it did not as yet secure to the nobles the means of defence and intimidation. But, after the deposition of Charles the Fat, no public authority prevented any individual from providing for his own defence by any means he had at command; from seeking within his own domains, first security, and then the power of

making himself formidable. The dukes, counts, marquesses, and abbots who had shared among them the whole territory of France, consequently soon changed their object and their policy: they substituted ambition for cupidity; and demanded of the earth, men for the maintenance of their rights and their existence, rather than wealth for the indulgence of their appetites. Indeed, money no longer appeared of any value, except in so far as it was convertible into people. The value of an extent of country was estimated, not according to the number of pounds of silver for which its produce could be sold, but according to the number of soldiers it could send forth to follow the banner of their lord, or to defend his castle from aggression.

Thus it was that this period of troubles and disasters which seemed to threaten with absolute destruction the miserable remnant of the population of the West, became, in fact, the epoch of a great and beneficent revolution, which raised that population from its abasement. The lord offered his land to the vassal who appeared disposed to cultivate it, and was satisfied with a small remuneration in money, or in produce; instead of rent, he required personal services. The terms on which these various services were exacted, were as different as the orders of men by whom they were rendered. Younger sons of noble families, free men, citizens or burgesses, liberated slaves, even serfs, were admitted, in a regular scale of subordination, which they never attempted to infringe, to share the soil, and to give the equivalent in service. All these men, the majority of whom would have been destined, under the old order of things, to grow old in celibacy, were incited to marry, and could see with satisfaction a family multiply around them.

The higher among them formed anew those intermediate orders of gentlemen, of *leudes*, of freemen, which had almost disappeared. The latter even rose, instead of sinking, in the scale of society. The vilein or serf was, it is true, in a state of absolute dependence

on his lord. He had, as against him, no protection for liberty, property, honour, or even life; and yet he had rarely to dread any violent invasion of them. He regarded his chieftain as his natural judge and protector, and generally felt for him that respect, and even love, which the weak so readily grant to those whom they think of a superior race. The use of arms, which had been restored to him, had raised him in his own eyes, and had enabled him to regain some of those virtues which slavery destroys. He did not, indeed, go to battle on horseback, as the nobles and freemen did, but at all events he took the field with them; resistance was no longer forbidden to him; and the consciousness of physical strength gave him the measure of the respect he had it in his power to command.

The rapidity with which the population increased, from these various causes, between the tenth and the twelfth centuries, is prodigious. Each of the great counties or earldoms split, in the course of two or three generations, into an infinite number of rural counties, viscounties, and seigniories; each of these was then subdivided in like manner. A village with its lord sprang up in every deserted and uncultivated tract; every community had its fortified place and its means of defence; and in less than two hundred years a count of Toulouse, a count of Vermandois, an earl of Flanders, became more powerful, and commanded braver, better disciplined, and even more numerous troops, than Charles the Fat, or Louis the Debonnaire, when sole monarchs of the Western empire, could have summoned to the field. But this properous state of the rural population lasted only so long as the nobles felt their own need of it. From the time that the great proprietors arrogated to themselves the right of private warfare, the iron yoke of the oligarchy had been lightened, only to fall back with greater violence and weight on the neck of the people, as soon as public order was sufficiently re-established to make it impossible for individuals to refer their differences to the decision of the

sword. As soon as the lords ceased to want soldiers, they fell into their ancient greediness of money, and began once more to grind and oppress the husbandman. Then it was that the vileins were reduced to a shameful state of degradation: then it was that the feudal system pressed upon the people as the most intolerable of despotisms. It had introduced some order, some virtue, and some prosperity, into a turbulent anarchy; but, from the time government was re-established, it did but add its own yoke to the yoke of the laws, till the two combined became too grievous for man to bear.

Thus the feudal system, which, for a time, perhaps, contributed more than any other human institution to the multiplication and the prosperity of the lower orders, has come down to the posterity of those very men who owed their existence and their well-being to it, loaded with the responsibility of all the oppression and all the suffering which marked its decay; and its name is still mentioned with terror, while the infamy which ought to attach to the name of the Carlovingian monarchs is forgotten.

# CHAP. XXI.

TOTAL CESSATION OF INTERCOURSE BETWEEN BRITAIN AND THE CONTINENT. — INVASION OF THE PICTS AND SCOTS. — VORTIGERN. — INVASIONS OF THE JUTES AND SAXONS. — HENGIST AND HORSA. — DIVISION OF ENGLAND. — HEPTARCHY. — WITENA-GEMOTE. — BRITONS. — DIVISIONS OF WALES AND CORNWALL. — IRELAND. — ST. PATRICK. — IRISH MISSIONARIES. — CALEDONIA. — EXTERMINATION OF THE PICTS. — POPE GREGORY AND THE SAXON SLAVES. — RE-CONVERSION OF ENGLAND BY ST. AUGUSTIN. — EGBERT. — UNION OF THE SEVEN KINGDOMS. — INVASION OF THE DANES. — DEFEAT OF EGBERT. — DEFEAT OF THE DANES. — DEATH OF EGBERT. — ETHELWOLF — HIS CHARACTER AND DEATH — HIS SONS ETHELBALD, ETHELBERT, ETHELRED, AND ALFRED. — DESCENT OF IWAR ON NORTHUMBERLAND. — HORRIBLE DEATH OF RÆGNER LODBROG. — CRUELTIES OF THE DANES. — BATTLES BETWEEN IWAR AND ETHELRED. — DEFEAT AND DEATH OF ETHELRED. — CONQUESTS OF THE DANES. — ALFRED THE GREAT — HIS DEFEAT AND CONCEALMENT — HIS CHARACTER AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS. — STATE OF THE SAXON PEOPLE. — BATTLE OF KENWITH. — DEFEAT AND DEATH OF UBBA. — CAPTURE OF THE RAVEN STANDARD. — VISIT OF ALFRED TO THE DANISH CAMP — HIS RE-APPEARANCE AT THE HEAD OF A SAXON ARMY. — DEFEAT OF GUTHRUM, AND SUBMISSION OF THE DANES. — ALFRED, FOUNDER OF THE BRITISH NAVY. — WITENA-GEMOTE — HIS REFORMS IN LAW AND POLICE — HIS LEARNING AND LOVE OF LETTERS. — OXFORD. — DEATH OF ALFRED.

From the time of the death of Honorius, and the recall of the last of the Roman legions sent to defend it, we have hardly had occasion to mention the island of Britain. It has been our endeavour to connect together the history of those countries which exercised a reciprocal influence, which acted and re-acted on each other. But the great island of Britain, after having been for

a while drawn into the huge vortex of the world of Rome, had completely escaped from it. From that time, she had formed a world apart, severed from the rest of mankind, a stranger to the hopes and the fears by which Europe was agitated. She had been forgotten by the other former provinces of Rome, with which she had been associated in a common dependence, and in the ten books of the History of the Franks, by Gregory of Tours, not a single British name occurs.

The total oblivion into which Britain had fallen among the Greeks is still more extraordinary. Two centuries and a half after the legions of Britain had given to the empire the future founder of Constantinople; one century only after the final recall of the Romans; Procopius, the first historian of the lower empire, consigns Britain to a place in the regions of prodigies and fables. He relates, that the souls of those who die in Gaul are nightly borne to the shores of that island, and delivered over to the infernal powers, by the boatmen of Friesland and Batavia. "These boatmen," says he, "see no one; but in the dead of night, a terrible voice calls them to their mysterious office. They find by the shore strange and unknown boats ready to sail; they feel the weight of the souls which enter them, one after the other, till the gunwhale of the boat sinks to a level with the water. Nevertheless, they still see nothing. The same night they reach the coast of Britain. Another voice calls the ghosts one by one, and they land in silence." Such, after a short but total cessation of intercourse, was the only notion of England entertained by the rest of mankind.

Britain, however, in her isolation, had shared the fate of the other dismembered portions of the empire. The same struggle had arisen between the barbarians, and those who had caught civilisation from their Roman masters. But neither the people, nor the circumstances which brought about the overthrow of the continental domination of Rome, were the same as those which

caused the destruction of the system she had established in Britain; and if, in her progress from ancient to modern civilisation, through barbarism, she underwent nearly the same changes, it is a proof that the fate of Europe was the consequence of internal organisation, the operation of which was every where the same, and not of events which varied with each particular country.

This total separation of Britain from the rest of the world begins from the year 426 or 427, the supposed date of the departure of the last Roman legion from her shores. It ends, or at least becomes less distinct, from the time of the coronation of Alfred the Great, in 872. During these four centuries and a half, the chronicles of Britain contain a prodigious number of facts, of names of kings, of dates of battles; and perhaps a writer inspired by an intense spirit of nationality might succeed in imparting some interest to them.

But a foreigner is repelled by the frequency of revolutions ending in the most unimportant results, and can hardly be expected to undertake a labour which promises him no adequate recompense. Wherever history leads to the study of man as a moral and a social being; wherever it displays the development of his mind and character, the lofty play of sentiment and passion; narrowness of territorial bounds detracts nothing from the importance of the results to which it leads. The republics of Greece, the free cities of Italy, the cantons of Switzerland, in the bright and palmy days of their freedom, will doubtless teach us more as to what constitutes the happiness and the dignity of man, than those vast monarchies of Asia, where every error of the ruler decides the destiny of millions.

But the small British and Saxon kingdoms, which for four or five centuries existed simultaneously or successively in Britain, afford no field for the display of great qualities or heroic virtues. Nor are their records sufficiently detailed to bring us acquainted with individual character, or with the workings of human passions. Their history is almost conjectural; and even

were we to devote this chapter to the repetition of all of it that has come down to us, we should but add to the already copious list of royal crimes, or furnish more disgusting pictures of the sufferings of humanity. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with such a glance over these five centuries as may enable us to catch its general features.

In the year 427, when the Romans abandoned Britain, they left it enervated, like all the other provinces of the empire; without fortifications, without arms, and without courage to use them, even had the natives possessed them. Instead of surrounding the open towns with strong fortifications, and organising troops for their defence, the Britons had contented themselves with rebuilding the wall of Severus, which, intersecting the island at its narrowest point, was intended to arrest the incursions of the Picts and the Scots. But this wall, which might have done good service to regular troops, was of no use to citizens; men who, without quitting their daily occupations and their families, could perhaps have defended the ramparts of their cities, but who could not be expected to quit their homes, and post themselves at the foot of a distant fortification, whence they were constantly exposed to be driven. And, in fact, the Romans had hardly quitted the island, when the wall of Severus was passed by the Picts and Scots. The sole honour of these northern tribes, who were pastoral and entirely uncivilised, was the defiance of danger; their sole happiness, the robbery of their more industrious and more timid neighbours. They overran the whole of Britain several times; they devastated the country, laid the towns under contribution, and, finding no advantage in carrying home slaves to a country already over-peopled, they massacred all their captives.

The terror and the desolation of the Britons were extreme. The towns which preserved an appearance of civilisation, although leagued together, had no means of defence; they implored succour of the Romans, al-

ready too much crippled by the calamities of the empire to afford them any protection. The rural districts, divided among a small number of rich proprietors, were become a sort of principalities; but a man who was owner of thousands of slaves, was not the more able to defend himself. We are assured, that one of these great proprietors, named Vortigern, was acknowledged chief, or king, by all the others, in the year 445. This new monarch is accused of being the first to call in the Saxon pirates as auxiliaries against the Scottish marauders.

The maritime Saxons of the mouths of the Elbe; the Jutes, the Angles, the Frieslanders, and other small nations of the same coasts, had long been in the habit of plundering the coasts of Gaul and Britain. Two of their chiefs, Hengist and Horsa, were received in 449 by Vortigern, in the Isle of Thanet, on the Kentish coast. They fulfilled their part of the treaty, by making a brave and effectual stand against the Scots: after having repulsed them, however, they invited their countrymen to cross over to them, and began to plunder those they had come to assist. Success soon inspired them with the project of subjugating the island.

Then began a struggle between the Britons and the Saxons, which lasted a century and a half, and which terminated in the extirpation of the British population, or its expulsion from the whole eastern side of the island. This struggle has been celebrated by the romancers of the Round Table, and by historians little superior to romancers in credibility. King Arthur, who is supposed to have died in 548, at the age of ninety, was the great British hero of these battles, in which Vortimer, Mordred, Uther Pendragon, and several others, also distinguished themselves. There is no reason to doubt the length and the fury of conflicts, the result of which was the expulsion of an entire nation from its ancient territory; but there are very sufficient grounds for scepticism as to the number of the armies and the importance of the battles recorded by old writers. The

Saxons, as we have already seen, were subject, even in their own country, to as many chiefs or kings as they occupied villages: in like manner they gave the name of king, or sea-king, to every captain of a ship equipped for piracy, who landed on the coast of Britain; and it is probable that Hengist had but a few hundred men under him during the thirty-five years of continued fighting, which left him master of Kent. Other Saxon, Anglian, and Jutish chieftains, established themselves at the same time in other parts of England.

The petty British lords, the ancient senators of the country, on their side, often assumed, or received from the Saxons, the title of kings. In either case the dominions of the monarch extended to a keep or castle in which he resided, and a few villages inhabited by his vassals and serfs. The traditions of their wars were preserved, and the vanity of the two parties combined to exaggerate their importance. These wars, far from being destructive to the population, taught the chieftain all the value of the multiplication of his vassals. He was too much in want of soldiers not to endeavour to increase their numbers. The Saxon population spread itself over the east of the island, the British over the west; and those of the latter, who, having inhabited the eastern part, could not escape into Wales, sought refuge from the fury of the Saxons in Little Britain, or Bretagne, on the coast of France. At length, after two or three generations in succession had lived in a constant state of bloodshed, after every trace of civilisation had been obliterated, after the language, and almost all the arts of the Romans had been forgotten, the island of Great Britain, which then began to bear the name of England, was divided into three parts.

To the east, seven independent kingdoms had been formed by the piratical people included under the common name of Anglo-Saxons. The three most extensive were to the north, and were inhabited by the Angles; the four richest and most populous were to the south, and inhabited by the Saxons. The three former were,

the kingdom of Northumberland, founded in 547 by Ida; that of East Anglia, in 571, by Ulfa; and that of Mercia, in 585, by Erida.

The four Saxon kingdoms were those of Kent, founded in 460 by Hengist; of Sussex, in 491, by Ella; of Essex, in 527, by Erccnwin; and of Wessex, the most powerful of the southern kingdoms, in 519, by Cerdic. The opposite courses of the Thames and the Severn separated the Saxon kingdoms from those of the Angles; nevertheless these two people regarded one another nearly as countrymen, and the seven kingdoms of the Saxon heptarchy formed, to some intents, but one single political body.

The kings whom the Saxons acknowledged as their leaders in war, had but a very limited authority in peace; and the assembly of the elders, or wise men, of each kingdom, the Witena-gemote, was consulted on all important measures, whether legislative or administrative. On some occasions one of the seven Kings was acknowledged as chief of the heptarchy, and then a Witena-gemote of the seven kingdoms was convened to deliberate on the interests of the whole confederate body.

To the west, the ancient Britons, who belonged to the Cymri, one of the two grand divisions of the Celtic race, were limited within the district of Wales, which was divided into three petty kingdoms, and the western point of England, the kingdom of Cornwall. They had retained their original language, they were fervently attached to the Christian religion, and, for the performance of its rites and offices, had preserved some knowledge of the Latin language, and the use of writing, — at least among the clergy. But they had been able to keep up scarcely any communication with Rome; and when, after an interval of two centuries, they renewed their connection with the rest of the church, they had considerable difficulty in submitting to the changes which had taken place in that primitive Christianity they had learned and maintained.

Welsh missionaries, and especially the elder St. Pa-

trick, and his nephew of the same name, had converted Ireland at the end of the fifth century. As that was just the time of the greatest ravages of the Saxons, it is very probable that a great number of the more quiet and unwarlike Britons went to seek tranquillity in that island, which was less exposed to storms and convulsions, and carried with them a civilisation which the sword was then destroying in Britain. The Irish, separated from the whole world, having enough for their maintenance, but scarcely acquainted with the luxuries of life, sought food for their activity in the study of sacred letters. This is the brilliant period of their literature; the period in which arose those pious men who undertook the conversion of Scotland, and who, a century later, went forth as missionaries into Germany and the forest of the Ardennes. They afterwards founded the convents of St. Gall, Luxeuil, Anégrai, and, lastly, of Bobbio, in Italy, where we are surprised to trace the footsteps of an Irish missionary, St. Colomban.

The northern extremity of Great Britain was always occupied by the Picts on the west, and the Scots on the east: these two nations were branches of the Gaelic tribe, another great division of the Celtic family. They had never been subjugated by the Romans, and had remained almost entirely ignorant of agriculture, and dependent on the produce of their herds; yet they had, if possible, retrograded in the career of civilisation, since all the arts which soften or embellish life had been destroyed among their neighbours. Their incursions had long desolated Britain; but whether it be that their arms were inferior to those of the Saxons, who at the same time invaded the southern part of Scotland; or whether there was no longer any plunder to allure them onward in a country already so devastated, it seems certain that, after the middle of the fifth century, they desisted from their incursions. Their conversion to Christianity dates from about the same time, and was mainly brought about by the labours of Welsh and Irish missionaries. The Picts and the Scots continued

to share Caledonia up to the year 839 or 840, when the Picts were defeated in two battles by the Scots, commanded by their king, Kenneth II., and were finally exterminated. The nation was utterly extinct, and the whole country took the name of Scotland.

It was not till the year 597, that Christianity was introduced anew among the Anglo-Saxons. England was at that time one of the greatest European markets for slaves; whenever the Saxons felt the pressure of want, they had no hesitation in selling their children. They were extremely numerous in France; Bathilde, queen of Clovis II., had herself been a Saxon slave bought by a Frank. Anglo-Saxon slaves were exposed to sale in the markets of Rome. On one occasion, Gregory the Great, afterwards pope, struck with the delicacy of their skins, and the beauty of their fair hair, asked of what nation they were. "They are Angles," (Angli,) said the merchant.—"Say rather angels*," said Gregory.—"What is their birth-place?"—"Deiri in Northumberland."—"*De irâ?* they must be rescued from the anger of God." Gregory's puns struck him as being a revelation, and he was no sooner seated in the papal chair than he took measures for the conversion of Britain. He intrusted this task to the monk Augustin, afterwards created first archbishop of Canterbury. This Roman priest set out, accompanied by forty missionaries, to whom England owed the knowledge of what was called Christianity in the sixth century; that is, of the religion which it suited the church to promulgate.

The conversion of England began with her kings, and the new faith descended to their subjects. It took root, and was established without persecution, nor was the change stained with the blood of a single martyr. The popular faith, if not very enlightened, was not the less lively; nor was it less efficacious in inclining those who embraced it to great sacrifices. A reputation for sanctity was easily obtained, especially by large do-

* "Non, imo, Angli sed Angeli."

nations to the church. It is, however, somewhat remarkable, that during the heptarchy, seven Anglo-Saxon kings, seven queens, eight princes, and sixteen princesses of the blood, received the honours of canonisation. It is not less so, that, in the same period of time, ten kings and eleven queens laid aside a crown to devote themselves to a monastic life.

The government of the Saxon heptarchy, or the independence of the seven little kingdoms into which England was divided, lasted three hundred and seventy-eight years, if we reckon from the foundation of the earliest; two hundred and forty-three, if we reckon from that of the most recent, up to the year 827, when the whole Anglo-Saxon people acknowledged the sovereign authority of Egbert.

This monarch had been driven from his hereditary kingdom of Wessex, and had taken refuge with Charlemagne, who had given him a friendly reception at his court, and had, probably, contributed to form his mind, and to elevate his views and his hopes. Egbert had passed twelve years in the society of the great monarch, when he was recalled from his court, in the year 800; the very year of the re-establishment of the western empire, to take possession of the throne of Wessex,—the largest of the four southern kingdoms. By a series of successful wars, Egbert subjugated the three other Saxon kingdoms, and united them under the common name of Wessex. He, at the same time, compelled the Anglian kingdoms to promise him obedience, permitting them, however, to retain the government of their feudatory princes. Lastly, he compelled the three British kingdoms in Wales, and the fourth in Cornwall, also to do homage to him as their suzerain or head. He had been scarcely five years in the enjoyment of peace and of undisputed sovereignty, when the Danes appeared on the south of the island, with thirty-five vessels; landed at Charmouth, met Egbert, defeated him, and loaded their vessels with all the portable wealth of the district (A. D. 833).

Charlemagne, at the summit of his power, had seen the Northmen brave him with impunity on the coasts of Friesland. He is said to have wept over the calamities which awaited his successors. Egbert, the imitator of Charlemagne on a smaller stage, witnessed the still more humiliating commencement of the misfortunes which were destined to afflict the kingdom he had founded.

Britain, totally separated as it was from the continent, experienced in the same manner the effects of the same cause. The incorporation of several smaller states into one monarchy, which seemed calculated to constitute its strength, was the source only of its weakness; and disgraceful calamities arose at the very moment in which the monarch thought he had founded the national power and glory. Each of the kingdoms which Charlemagne had conquered was able, single-handed, to keep its enemies in check; all together were no longer competent to do so after he had united them. Each of the petty kingdoms of the heptarchy had subsisted without fear of foreign invasion;—they fell before it, when they were consolidated into one empire. The Northmen or Danes, who made a simultaneous attack on the coasts of France and England, in the ninth century, had been long familiar with the coasts of Britain; for they were but another branch of the same people who had conquered it three centuries earlier. It appears, indeed, that the Anglo-Saxons of the fifth century came from the country lying between Friesland and Jutland, while the homes of the Norse conquerors of the ninth, reached from Jutland to Norway. The Jutes, or inhabitants of Jutland, are mentioned at both periods; and besides, the conquests of Charlemagne had driven back the southern upon the northern Saxons, so that the same people no longer issued from the same shores. From the time of the decline of the Roman empire, all these northern tribes lying on the sea, had addicted themselves to piracy, and exulted in those perilous expeditions in which

they braved at once the fury of the northern tempest and the sword of the enemy. Yet so long as, in the countries they attacked, every little province had its chief, its councils, its warriors; so long as every district had its association of free and warlike citizens, resistance was always at hand; it was so prompt and efficacious that the Northmen were compelled to abandon piracy, as the Scots were marauding.

As soon, on the contrary, as every district was forced to appeal to a king whose seat of government was at a great distance, to implore his assistance, or to await his orders; as soon as every career open to ambition, transplanted men from their natal soil to the court; — so that what had been a centre became a mere province or appendage, and a man might make his fortune independent of all local calamities; —all those small kingdoms, which had been filled with armed men who had for centuries waged a desperate war of resistance against neighbours constantly endeavouring to invade them, were found incapable of defending themselves against a few handfuls of sea-robbers; and little crews of adventurers in open boats, attempted and achieved conquests in which thousands of brave men had failed.

In 835, two years after his defeat at Charmouth, Egbert avenged himself on the Danes. He defeated a fresh body of them who had landed at Hengston, on the coast of Cornwall. He died in 838, leaving only one son, Ethelwolf, who succeeded him.

If Egbert exhibits some points of comparison with his illustrious contemporary and friend Charlemagne, — the resemblance of Ethelwolf to Louis le Débonnaire is much more striking. Like him, he suffered his kindness to degenerate into weakness, and his religion into an abject submission to priests and monks: like him, he hastened to share his power with his son Athelstan, whom he created king of Kent; like him, at an advanced age, on his return from a pilgrimage to Rome, in 855, he married another Judith, a grand-daughter of the ambitious queen of Louis le Débonnaire: and this young

wife embroiled him with his sons, by insinuating into their minds the fear of a fresh partition of his territory. Ethelbald, son of Ethelwolf, took arms against his father, and the good-natured (*débonnaire*) monarch of England left behind him at his death, in 857, a divided empire and a tottering throne.

Several of these coincidences are accidental, no doubt, but some are dependent on the nature of things. A great man arising in the midst of barbarians perceives the advantages of a liberal education, and endeavours to procure them for his children; but in such an age he can find no instructors in science but pedants; and it was in fact to monastic pedants that the training of Ethelwolf and Louis le Débonnaire was confided: both were born in luxury and surrounded by flattery; both degenerated, as the sons of great men so often degenerate; and the fruit of the tree of knowledge, which had nourished and strengthened their fathers, turned to poison in their hands. They learned to believe upon mere assertion; to tremble before a man; to expiate crimes by penances; and, even at an advanced period of life, to contract disproportionate marriages, in order to secure themselves against temptation.

Ethelwolf, like Louis le Débonnaire, left four sons; but the custom of dividing the monarchy among the princes of the blood had not yet gained ground among the Saxons. Ethelbald, to whom during his life-time he had made over the kingdom of Kent, and Ethelbert, to whom he left all the rest of his kingdom, alone succeeded him. It was, however, established, that the four brothers should succeed each other, to the exclusion of children under age; and they did, in fact, reign in succession — Ethelbald, from 857 to 860; Ethelbert, from 857 to 866; Ethelred, from 866 to 871; and Alfred the Great, from 871 to 900. The whole of this period, like that embracing the reigns of the four sons of Louis le Débonnaire, is filled with the disastrous invasions of the Danes.

The adventurers, who issued forth from all the coasts

of Scandinavia, from all the ports of the Baltic, and who, though differing in language and in origin, were all comprehended under the common name of Danes in England, and of Normans in France, seemed to have formed different projects on these two countries. The coasts and the courses of the rivers of France accessible to their boats, were still enriched by the effects of a long established civilisation and industry. Capital accumulated in the preceding centuries was still deposited there; indeed, it had increased during the reign of Charlemagne. On the other hand, the people all along the coasts were total strangers to the Germanic races, nearly unarmed, and wholly unwarlike in their habits; they could hardly oppose any resistance, nor did the Normans seem to have any other object than to plunder them. England was poorer and more warlike. It had no wealth wherewith to tempt the northern freebooter but that of its fields, which its brave and warlike population was ready to defend. The Danes, therefore, when they attacked England, aimed at conquest rather than at spoil. During the reigns of Ethelwolf and Ethelbald, they made some descents on the coasts; but their reception was such as to convince them that the gains of such incursions were not likely to be proportioned to their danger; and from the year 840 to 860, years so disastrous to France, the shores of England were but rarely attacked. But the profits of the profession of corsair, the glory and the risks of these expeditions, soon attracted to the ports of Denmark adventurers from every part of the North.

It was a new channel into which the torrent of emigration forced itself; and the tribes which had been wont to send forth swarms to invade the empire by land, now launched them upon the deep. Bands of Northmen ravaged France from side to side; they made descents on the coasts of Spain and Portugal, which they disputed with the Saracens; they penetrated into the Mediterranean, and the mouths of the Rhone received the barks of Drontheim. The Danes

appear to have conceived the project of conquering the island of Great Britain, which, by its contiguity to the scene of their spoliation, would afford a convenient receptacle for their booty, enable them to refit their vessels, or furnish them with new ships, and with hands for their service. About the year 860, they renewed their attacks upon England with the barbarity with which they carried on all their wars, but also with a persistency, with a determination to gain a settlement in the country, which is not perceptible in their invasions of France.

It was on the shores of the feudatory kingdom of Northumberland, that Iwar, one of the sons of the Danish lord Rægner Lodbrog, made a descent with a formidable army. It is affirmed, that he had been invited and introduced into the country by an earl Bruen, whose wife had been dishonoured by one of the Northumbrian kings; while the other sovereign of their little country had exasperated the vengeance of the Danes by an act of cruelty worthy of his age. Having taken Rægner Lodbrog prisoner, he had cast him into a deep pit filled with serpents, and left him there to die. The death-song composed by Rægner in this appalling situation, became the war-song of his countrymen, and has come down to us.

The two kings of Northumberland, till then at variance, now vainly united to oppose their terrible enemy: they were defeated, the one before York, the other at Ellescross; the country was ravaged with atrocious cruelty; those taken in arms found no mercy, and the priests and monks, who affected to work miracles, and whom the Danes regarded as formidable enchanters, were not treated with less inhumanity. The nuns had still worse evils to dread. The abbess of Coldingham, having to announce to the sisterhood over which she presided, that the Danes were at hand, and that they were without defence, set them the example of the only means of escaping outrage. She cut off her nose and upper lip, to render herself an object of horror and dis-

gust to the conquerors. The Danes rushed into the convent; but meeting only bleeding and mutilated faces, they recoiled in terror. Too savage, however, to be touched with the courage of these unhappy women, they shut the gates of the convent, and kindled a fire around it, in which all their victims perished.

The Danes also laid waste the kingdom of Mercia; they conquered that of East Anglia, and its feudatory king, Edmund, who was regarded as a saint, was massacred by them in a place which still bears his name — St. Edmund's Bury, or Burg. These three kingdoms, whose kings were vassals of Ethelred, were much more extensive than his hereditary sovereignty of Wessex, situated to the south of the Thames and the Severn. This latter country, however, the capital of which was Winchester, was much more populous, richer, and consequently more important than all the others combined.

The Danes had not merely pillaged Northumberland; they had established colonies there, partitioned out lands, and a part of their families had betaken themselves to the peaceful occupations of husbandry; circumstances which seem to prove, that from their very first campaign their intention was not only, as in France, to carry off plunder, but to make themselves masters of the soil. Iwar, however, in order to secure himself the more firmly in his conquest, proceeded to attack Ethelred in his kingdom of Wessex. Nine furious and sanguinary battles were fought between the invaders and the invaded in the course of a single year. The English defended themselves like brave men, and their king proved himself worthy to command them. But numbers at length prevailed over their obstinate courage; and in the last of these battles, A. D. 872, Ethelred was killed.

On the death of Ethelred, the fourth brother, Alfred, ascended the throne of Wessex, to the exclusion of the sons of his predecessor; whether according to the will of his father, who is said to have thus determined the succession, or whether from the choice of the people,

who felt that, in a crisis of such peril, they needed a man, and not a child, to govern them, is not certainly known. The Danes were now masters of three of the most ancient kingdoms: they had, it is true, delegated their sceptres to English kings, whom they held in a state of dependence: but this was merely in order not to reveal too broadly to the original population the servitude into which they had fallen; to preserve for a time the forms of a national government after the substance was destroyed. These kings were useful to the Danes in sanctioning their usurpations; in legalising their levies of money; and perhaps, still more, in rendering odious a government which it was their object to overthrow. The inhabitants of the provinces, indeed, were not long in perceiving that these phantoms of royalty, the slaves and tools of their conquerors, were a burden, and not a protection, to them. Oppressed as they were by the Danish yoke, they demanded that at least it might be the only one laid upon them. Their prayer was readily heard, and acceded to by Iwar and Ubba, the sons of Rægner Lodbrog. The feudatory kings to the north of the Thames were suppressed. The Danes mingled with the Saxons as cultivators of the soil, and as fellow-countrymen; all the cities were open to them: even London, which then belonged to the kingdom of Mercia, fell into their power; whilst their armies penetrated Wessex, which at that time reached from the shores of Kent to the borders of Cornwall, on every side.

Alfred, having been defeated by the Danes in a battle, had signed a treaty, by which he bound himself to give no assistance to the counties north of the Thames and the Severn, on condition that he was to be left in undisturbed possession of those to the south of those rivers. But no treaty could be binding on the bands of independent adventurers who every spring quitted their northern shores, and who gloried in the cruelties they inflicted on the inhabitants of more temperate climes. New chieftains, who had no connection with the sons

of Rægner Lodbrog, surprised and pillaged Wareham, laid siege to Exeter, which they likewise plundered, gave battle seven times in one year (A. D. 876) to king Alfred, and thus awakened in the Danes, settled in the north of the island, the hope of conquering the whole of England. The colonists accordingly broke the peace they had sworn to: the possession of London secured them a safe passage over the Thames; in 877 they entered Wessex, took Chippenham, one of its largest towns, and thus struck such terror into the English, that Alfred, who strove to assemble his army, found himself suddenly deserted by all his warriors. As the only means of escaping from death or captivity, he assumed the disguise of a poor labourer, and sought refuge and concealment in the hut of a shepherd in the marshes of Somersetshire. It was built on a small plot of solid ground, not above two acres in extent, and approachable only by a difficult and almost imperceptible path through a sedgy morass. This small patch of land was afterwards illustrious as the asylum of the noble warrior, and was thence called Ætheling-ey, or the Noble Island.

The man who lay hidden from every eye in Ætheling-ey,—who was known only to his host, and was regarded by his hostess as an equal, or rather inferior, whom she scolded when he suffered her cakes to burn,—was worthy to save England, and to restore the monarchy. He was nearly thirty years of age; his countenance was handsome, noble, and intrepid; his skill in all bodily exercises, his dexterity in shooting with the bow, would have sufficed, united as they were with consummate bravery, to obtain for him a distinguished rank as a mere soldier. The sweetness and benevolence which characterised all his intercourse with men endeared him to all who came near him: he had successfully cultivated poetry and music; and his mind, fostered by the early care of an enlightened mother, was enlarged and adorned by study to a degree unknown among his contemporaries.

All these qualities, however, do not suffice to form a hero; they raise an individual to one of the highest steps in a scale which all may endeavour to climb; but the force of character and of will, the clear judgment which decides what is needed for a nation, the creative genius which finds the means of producing it, are the qualities which alone can constitute a great king; and these Alfred united in a supreme degree. He passed six months in his profound retreat — his very existence unknown to the whole world — deprived of all the conveniences of life; nor, during this long interval of apparently hopeless inaction, did he ever give himself up to despondency. He polished his bow, and kept his arms in order for the field, and he waited with patience and confidence the fit moment to emerge from his obscurity.

The Saxons, who, in all their battles, had shown that they were worthy to have a country, were, indeed, struck with panic terror; they were dispersed, but not crushed. They had shrunk from engaging again in disastrous and hopeless conflicts; but most of them had retreated into castles or towers which they had built for their defence, or into fastnesses in woods or marshes; and if some had bent their necks to the yoke, and had yielded themselves up to the Danes, Alfred was convinced that they would not long endure the vexations with which they would be harassed. He waited the first outbreak of their impatience; he thought that it is sometimes expedient to leave the whole intolerable weight of tyranny to press for a while on a people, that it may no longer be disposed to grudge the high price, the cruel sacrifices, by which alone deliverance can be bought.

Alfred's expectations were not deceived. The Danes had dispersed themselves over the whole kingdom of Wessex, in order to subdue every part of it: but Ubba II., son of Rægner Lodbrog, learning that a party of English had shut themselves up in the fort of Kenwith, in the county of Devon, marched a division of his troops to besiege it. The assailants had so greatly the advantage in point of numbers — their enemies seemed so

prostrated by a series of disasters—that Ubba scarcely thought it worth while to be on his guard against them. The besieged had not the slightest hope of succour from any quarter; they looked for nothing but death or slavery. The earl of Devon, who commanded them, proposed to surprise the enemy by a sortie, and to try to open to themselves a passage to some place of refuge, sword in hand. This desperate project was crowned with far better success than the earl himself had dared to hope. The Danes were so little on their guard, that Ubba, their general, was killed. The Raven, the great standard to which they believed the fate of their nation mysteriously attached, was taken, and the whole army fled disgracefully.

Alfred, instructed of their defeat, deemed that the moment for emerging from concealment had arrived. He called his chief friends about him; and, after having concerted all his measures, he sent them to various places where he knew that there were parties of Saxons under arms: he fixed a day for their general meeting in the forest of Selwood, in Somersetshire; and, while his very existence was wholly unsuspected by the Danes, he slung his harp over his shoulder, and went to the camp which Guthrum, the Danish general, had assembled, and entered it alone. All the nations of the North held music in honour, and admitted bards or singers to their banquets. The ancient Britons, however, claimed a pre-eminence above all others as poets and musicians; and the Welsh bards traversed hostile armies, and went unharmed amid the horrors of war, collecting the voluntary contributions of the soldiers. Alfred yielded to no one in musical skill, or in talent for extempore versification: his harp secured him entrance to the enemy's camp; he was received without distrust, admired, and rewarded; and, after carefully observing every thing, he went to meet his countrymen in the forest of Selwood.

The Saxons, inspired with new life and courage at the sight of their beloved prince, who seemed to rise

from the dead to lead them, fell upon the camp of Guthrum, who did not even suspect the existence of a Saxon army: nearly all the Danes were cut to pieces. Guthrum, and the small band of followers who escaped, were soon besieged in a fortress; where, hopeless of being able long to hold out, they accepted the terms of peace which were offered them.

Alfred granted to all who consented to become Christians, the privilege of residing in East Anglia; the others were permitted to leave the country, under a promise of seeking their fortune elsewhere. Those of the Danes who had their wives and children with them, and had established themselves in England, intermingled with the Saxons, whose language so nearly resembled their own that they might almost regard them as fellow countrymen. These had already begun to lend an ear to the Christian missionaries; and their conversion, sincere or feigned, seemed to meet with no great obstacles. The young men however, — the more ardent spirits — could not bring themselves, in consequence of one check, to renounce a life of piracy and pillage which had such attractions for them, and which formed so essential a part of the national character. Just at this crisis, the Continent, given over to a frightful state of anarchy, seemed to invite their arms. Charles the Bald died on the 6th of October, 877; the Carlovingian princes who had shared his states, at variance with each other, and despised by their subjects, were attacked by reiterated fits of illness, which disabled them from taking any measures of defence. Hastings, after having measured himself against Alfred without success, led over to France the greater part of those Danes who had so long desolated England. Troops of these terrific adventurers landed in the mouths of all the rivers, from the Garonne to the Scheldt; others, recent from the North, took the same route; and for twelve years the shores of England were unvisited by their cruellest foes.

Alfred took advantage of this season of repose to

organise his future defence. The kingdom of Wessex had remained his in undisputed sovereignty; but Guthrum, with his consent, had retired into East Anglia, and the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk were almost entirely peopled by Danes. Others of their countrymen occupied Mercia; others Northumberland, to which Alfred at that time did not even think of laying claim. The limit of his conquests to the northward was the city of London; which, it seems, he became master of about the year 880, and intrusted the government of it to his son-in-law, earl Ethelred. He had, however, lost no time in organising the troops of Wessex, giving them able officers, building strong places at all points well adapted for the defence of the country, and, above all, building ships of war. His predecessors had trusted to their troops alone for the defence of the coasts; and the enemy, by threatening several distant points, harassed them with fatigue, gained upon them in point of speed, and eventually always effected a landing in a point where no preparation had been made. The Danish vessels were fitted only for transport. As theirs were the only ships then on the seas, they were not armed; they carried war across the sea, but they had never made the sea the theatre of war: Alfred probably imitated the construction of the galleys of the Greek empire which he had seen in Italy. His vessels had by this time an indisputable advantage over those of the Danes; they never met without the certain destruction of the latter. It was by means of these ships of war that Alfred secured the tranquillity of Wessex. In 893, Hastings made another attempt upon it, and landed on the coast of Kent with a powerful army. Alfred, however, aided by his fleet, so completely routed him, that he appears to have relinquished for ever the desire of disturbing the repose of England. He retreated, accompanied not only by all the troops he had brought over, but also by all he could collect in East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumberland. These three large districts, weakened by the

departure of all their youthful and warlike population, no longer hesitated to acknowledge the authority of Alfred. For the last seven years of his life, he reigned alone in England.

The English are fond of ascribing to this great and excellent monarch, either the institution or the confirmation of the laws, privileges, and usages which have tended the most to their prosperity as a nation. We have seen, that he was the founder of their navy — that he was the first to perceive and the first to prove, that it was in these wooden walls that the people of England ought to put their trust. With him also arose the grandeur and prosperity of the city of London, which he almost invariably chose as the place of meeting of the annual parliament, or witena-gemote, with which he always discussed the affairs of the nation. What was the composition of this assembly, at which prelates, earls or aldermen, thanes or barons, and perhaps deputies from different burghs, or associations of free men, were present, has been, and will probably remain, a subject of controversy.

According to the principles and customs of the northern nations, every free man had, as matter of course, a share in the sovereignty; but by far the greater part of the population were without either power or freedom. The ceorls, kerls, churls, or, in Roman phrase, villeins, were held by their lords in a state of vassalage which amounted to almost absolute dependency; lower still, the bond-slaves or serfs were not masters even of their own persons. Neither class was supposed to have any rights as citizens, nor any voice in public affairs: neither could be represented in parliament.

Alfred caused a fresh publication of the Saxon laws. This collection contained those of Ina king of Wessex, Offa king of Mercia, Ethelbert king of Kent; to these he added about forty others, framed or sanctioned by himself. Like the Carlovingian kings, he inserted several laws taken from the Judaical ritual into his

statutes, as if to give new strength and cogency to the precepts of morality. The Saxon laws, like those of all the people of the North, established the compensation of crimes or offences by pecuniary mulct, according to a regulated scale. The English are also fond of tracing in them the first indications of the glory of their island — trial by jury.

The judges underwent at the same time a severe reform. It is difficult to see how the state of dependence on the monarch, to which Alfred reduced this order of men, could be reconciled with liberty. We are only told that Alfred hanged forty-four of them in one year for crimes of malversation.

The division of England into counties or shires (*i. e.* shares) appears to have been one of the first acts of the Saxons after their conquest. This was, indeed, but a transplantation of Germanic institutions into their adopted country. The counts or earls, civil or military officers holding under the king, and presiding over the shire meetings, are mentioned from the very earliest times of the Heptarchy. Alfred, however, reformed the division of the counties, and made it more regular and equable throughout the kingdom. For the government of them he associated another officer to the earl, called the sheriff, or shire-reeve, often mentioned under the title of viscount. He confirmed and cemented the system of corporations, which placed all the citizens, in their several relations to society, reciprocally under the guarantee of each other, by forming a burgh or association of ten free householders, with a tithing man at their head; and uniting ten of these associations into a hundred, under another head; and all the hundreds of each county under its respective earl. Each of these bodies was responsible for the conduct of all its members, and, in virtue of this responsibility, exercised over them a right of inspection and of police; but if the criminal was not discovered, the responsibility fell on the association of the superior degree. The king demanded an account of every breach of the peace, first, of the tithing; next, of the hun-

dred; and, in the last resort, of the county. The universal disorganisation of society—the infinite number of robbers and outlaws who infested all parts of the kingdom—had compelled Alfred to adopt this rigorous system of police; but even in its vigilance we recognise respect for the rights of freemen. It was not a system under which magistrates, the creatures of despotic power, ruled their inferiors: equals exercised a supervision over equals; and public order was committed to the maintenance of the citizens.

The cultivation of letters, which had been absolutely destroyed at the first invasion of the Saxons, and had since made but few and languid steps towards revival, was the object of Alfred's peculiar care. He complained, that, from the Thames to the Humber, there was not a priest who understood the service he had to recite; and from the Thames to the sea—the part of the kingdom in which letters were a little more cultivated—there was not one who could translate the easiest Latin book into Saxon. Alfred was very superior to his clergy in erudition, and understood well the ancient language used by the church; but he had the good sense and good taste to wish to cultivate the vernacular tongue. He therefore applied himself to the translation of several books into Saxon: among them are, "Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiæ;" and the Ecclesiastical History of the Venerable Bede, a Saxon author of the early part of the eighth century. Alfred likewise founded schools at Oxford, which are regarded as the first origin of that celebrated university. He invited from all parts of Europe, the learned men whom he thought best qualified to train and instruct youth; and he set aside a considerable portion of the revenues of his domains for the payment of their salaries, or the maintenance of poor scholars who followed their teaching.

After having thus gloriously devoted his life to the defence, the deliverance, the improvement, and the pro-

sperity of his country, Alfred died in the year 900, at the age of fifty-two, after a reign of twenty-eight years and a half. Nor can we discover in his character or conduct, as delineated by writers who have handed down to us tolerably copious details of his life, a vice, or even a fault, which can stain or sully so pure, so lofty, so spotless a reputation."

# CHAP. XXII.

HISTORICAL DARKNESS OF THE TENTH CENTURY. — DECLINE OF THE KHALIPHATE OF BAGDAD. — INTRODUCTION OF THE TURKS. — CREATION OF THE OFFICE OF EMIR AL OMARA. — GREEK EMPIRE. — MACEDONIAN DYNASTY. — BASIL I. — ASSASSINATION OF MICHAEL III. — COMPILATION OF THE BASILICA. — LEO THE PHILOSOPHER. — CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS — HIS WORKS. — REFUSAL OF THE GREEK EMPERORS TO ACKNOWLEDGE THOSE OF THE WEST. — BERENGER KING OF ITALY — HIS MURDER. — INDEPENDENCE OF ITALIAN NOBLES. — RUDOLF II. OF BURGUNDY. — HUGUES COUNT OF PROVENCE. — SURRENDER OF LOMBARDY TO OTHO THE GREAT. — CHARLES THE SIMPLE CROWNED KING OF FRANCE. — INSUBORDINATION OF THE GREAT NOBLES. — ROBERT, COUNT OF PARIS AND DUKE OF FRANCE — HIS REVOLT AND DEATH. — RUDOLF OF BURGUNDY. — BETRAYAL, IMPRISONMENT, AND DEATH OF CHARLES THE SIMPLE. — CESSION OF NEUSTRIA TO THE NORMANS. — BAPTISM AND MARRIAGE OF ROLLO, FIRST DUKE OF NORMANDY. — INTRODUCTION OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM INTO NORMANDY. — RIGOROUS JUSTICE OF ROLLO. — RAPID DISAPPEARANCE OF THE NORSE TONGUE. — CESSATION OF PREDATORY HABITS. — SARACEN SETTLEMENTS IN FRANCE AND ITALY. — IRRUPTION OF THE MAGYARS. — EMPEROR ARNULF. — LOUIS IV. — INCREASED POWER OF GERMAN NOBLES. — CHARLES THE SIMPLE, LAST OF THE ILLEGITIMATE CARLOVINGIANS. — EMPEROR CONRAD OF FRANCONIA SUCCEEDED BY HENRY OF SAXONY — HIS ABILITY AND BRAVERY. — HIS TOTAL DEFEAT OF THE HUNGARIANS. A. D. 900—936.

THE history of the tenth century, a brief survey of which we are now about to lay before our readers, is far more difficult to reduce to any general character, or to present under any general point of view, than any of the preceding. If we cast our eyes over the whole theatre of the world, we find neither a great empire influencing its neighbours and giving a sort of unity to contemporaneous history, nor a great simultaneous movement in

the minds of men. On every side, states seem to be falling into dissolution; on every side, portions are detaching themselves from the mass; dependents or subordinates are throwing off their allegiance to their superiors. Kings no longer do homage to the emperor as their liege lord; emirs disclaim the authority of the khaliph; dukes and counts declare themselves independent of kings; cities and lords of burgs or castles shut their gates against dukes and counts. Where we have hitherto seen only the impulse communicated to the several members of one great body, we now remark convulsive movements which are clearly not directed by its will.

It is difficult to distinguish whether it was only a passive resistance that nations opposed to their governments, or whether we can trace the developement of a new and active will; nor can we gather any light on this matter from the contemporary historians. Almost all the annals of the foregoing periods close; almost all the chroniclers desert us; scarcely can an age be mentioned more barren in historical documents.

Yet were it a mistake to conclude that Europe was retrograding towards barbarism. There was, on the contrary, an important progress in manners, institutions, intelligence, and population. But the same difficulty in gaining any general views of the history of the period, which we of the present day feel, was still more insurmountable to contemporaries. Those who had the talent of writing (and there were several) could not succeed in obtaining information as to what was passing among their neighbours,—so scanty and interrupted were the means of communication; and, on the other hand, the rise of provincial dynasties, or of free communities, was still too recent for them to assume the rank of subjects worthy the dignity of history. Historians still turned their eyes towards the Empire, which had ceased to exist; and overlooked those infant states which had hardly struggled into existence. We shall turn our attention successively to all the portions of this system

of the world, whose rise and progress we have hitherto watched.

We shall not, however, endeavour to follow out the decline of the empire of the khaliphs. The frequent revolutions of the throne of Bagdad ceased to have any influence on the rest of the world; in each successive reign, some province detached itself from the ancient monarchy, some new dynasty sprang into existence, and some fresh matter was afforded for what Orientals take for history,—namely, the chronology of princes. To them, indeed, it is but an index to the parricides and fratricides of each reign, or to battles followed by the desolation of certain provinces; without the slightest advancement in the human species towards better government, towards a stronger guarantee for its rights, towards a greater developement of its faculties.

The loading the memory with the names of a host of princes, to which not a single useful or interesting idea can be attached, is but a waste of time and an abuse of learning. One remarkable change only, connected with the decline of these sovereigns of Bagdad, who daily saw new provinces escape from their grasp, deserves a cursory mention. They had remarked the decline of enthusiasm, the falling off in the courage, and even of the bodily strength, of their own subjects, from the time that all noble objects had ceased to be presented to their ambition or their activity. Motassem, the twenty-seventh khaliph, who died in 842, had endeavoured to supply this want, by sending to Turkestan to purchase young slaves bred in the mountain region of Caucasus, whom he trained to the profession of arms, and formed into a guard, to which he intrusted the protection of his palace. These troops soon became numerous and formidable; the rivalry which existed between them and the Syrians effectually disgusted the latter with the military career, and the Turks were soon the only soldiers of the khaliphs. The slavery in which they had been reared rendered them less faithful, without being more submissive or obedient. From this time, most of

the revolutions in Syria were their work. They hurled from the throne, or they assassinated, those khaliphs who were not the obsequious tools of their insolence and rapacity. At length, in the year 936, in the reign of Radhi, the thirty-ninth khaliph, they elected a chief of their own body, whom they called Emir al Omara (or Chief of Chiefs): this officer was henceforward the true sovereign of the state; he alone disposed of the treasure, the troops, the offices of power or dignity: he kept the khaliph a prisoner in his own palace—reducing him to that life of poverty, penitence, and prayer, which the early successors of Mohammed had imposed on themselves by choice: nor did he even respect his life, if there was any caprice of the chief or of the soldiers which the commander of the Faithful found it impossible to gratify. The Emir al Omara of Bagdad has sometimes been compared to the *maire du palais*, who was the virtual ruler of France under the kings of the first race. The origin of the power of the two officers was, however, very different, and its abuse was more violent and more cruel on the part of the Turk than on that of the Austrasian; though the thraldom of the legitimate sovereign to his minister presents some features of resemblance.

We shall also bestow but a transitory glance on the empire of the East, which was daily becoming more wholly separated from our portion of Europe; daily forgetting more and more that Latin world by which it was daily more and more forgotten. The people who inherited the two illustrious names of Greek and Roman had preserved no vestige of the sentiments or character of Greece and of Rome. The living generation seemed to be conscious that it was not worthy to occupy the attention of posterity; and though it continued to study the works of the mighty and illustrious dead, it neglected to leave any record of present events. Yet the empire had acquired some fresh vigour from the accession of the Macedonian dynasty to the throne. Basil, the founder of that dynasty, was invested with the purple on the 24th of September, 867: he reigned

until 886. He was succeeded by his son, Leo the Philosopher, who reigned from 886 to 911; and his grandson, Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus, from 911 to 959. The former merited some reputation as a legislator; the second and the third distinguished themselves as writers.

Basil pretended to be a descendant of the Arsacides of Armenia, and to be allied, through his wife, to the line of the ancient kings of Macedonia. Nevertheless, his family had been reduced by the ravages of the Bulgarians to great poverty: nor had he owed his rise from among the servants of the imperial palace to any qualities more elevated than his address in training horses, his physical strength, and his courage. But in despotic governments, where the monarch alone has the power of distinguishing or rewarding merit, and where public opinion is mute, a valet, having nearer access to his sovereign, has a greater chance of obtaining influence than the governor of a province; and domestic services are often the road to the highest dignities. Basil made his way from the stable to the council of state. The more surprising fact is, that he was worthy of his elevation. Michael III., son of Theophilus, at length granted him the title of Augustus. The favour of a prince addicted to every possible vice could be no recommendation: the assassination of this same prince by Basil, who owed his elevation entirely to him, threw the stain of ingratitude over the character of the new sovereign. Yet no sooner was Basil seated on the throne, than he merited the respect and attachment of his subjects by his application to business, by the vigour of his judgment, by the order which he established in the finances and in the administration of the empire. He even found found means to re-organise the army, although he had not received a military education. The Musulmans no longer menaced the provinces of the Levant: the Bulgarians, at the same epoch, had become converts to Christianity, and had laid aside their fierce and warlike habits with their idolatry. From this time their monarchy continued to

decline, so that the Thracian provinces of the empire enjoyed an unwonted repose, repaired their losses, and, under Basil's fostering care, agriculture and commerce flourished anew. He took advantage of the civil wars which distracted the Western empire, and the divisions of the Lombards of Benevento, to make new conquests in southern Italy. The Calabrias and Puglia submitted to his authority; and the city of Bari, the residence of a governor named the Catapan, was the capital of the province which the Greeks called the Theme of Lombardy. The Latin tongue, though entirely disused in the East for every other purpose, still remained that of the laws. Already, it is true, the Novels, or the edicts of the emperors posterior to the publication of Justinian's Code, were published in Greek as well as in Latin. Basil thought that it was time for the government to drop a language which was not understood by its subjects. He caused a new compilation of the laws of the empire to be made in Greek: they were divided into forty books, called the Basilica. This code he substituted for that of Justinian, and it continued in force throughout the empire up to the period of its fall. The Greeks, indeed, continued to regard it as the rule of their actions even after they fell under the yoke of the Turks.

The reign of Leo, son of Basil, and pupil of the patriarch Photius, is scarcely marked by any event save his disputes with his clergy on the subject of his last marriage: it was the fourth, and the Greek church did not permit any man to marry more than thrice. He owed the title of Philosopher to several works composed by him, or, at any rate, under his name, on most of the sciences cultivated by the ancient Greeks. His son, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who was scarcely six years old when he succeeded him, was governed, first by guardians, and then by colleagues, who seized the purple by violence. Estranged from the business of the state, and almost a prisoner in his palace, no less from the weakness of his health than from the distrust

of Romanus Lecapenus, whom the army had elected as his associate, he devoted all his time to literature and art; and his voluminous compilations may be regarded as the depositary of almost all the Greek learning and science of his time. We may infer from his works, that if they were still in possession of the discoveries of their ancestors, they had lost all original genius, all fertility of invention, all power of observation.

While the new empire of the West was at the summit of its power under Charlemagne and Louis le Débonnaire, the Eastern emperors had not disdained to recognise them as colleagues. But the greatness of the Carlovingian house had been of short duration; and Basil the Macedonian disputed the claim of Louis II., son of Lothaire, and sovereign of Italy, to the title of emperor, which his power no longer seemed to justify. The successors of Louis appeared to the Greeks still less worthy to be compared to their monarchs. A question of this nature is difficult to decide, where it is impossible to point out what are the real grounds of pre-eminence. The Latin emperor differed in nothing from the other kings of his race: he had no authority over them, though he assumed superiority of rank; nor is it easy to say what constituted an emperor, unless it were the fact of having placed on his head the crown of gold which the pope kept at Rome. This crown was granted successively, in 891, to Guido duke of Spoleto, and his son Lambert; in 895, to Arnulf king of Germany; in 900, to Louis, son of Boson, king of Provence; and, in 915, to Berenger, duke of Friuli and king of Italy. Each of these coronations had been the consequence of the arrival of a monarch at Rome at the head of an army. The popes had shown but slight repugnance to sanction what force had gained. Rapid revolutions had repeatedly changed the sovereignty of Italy. They were universally attributed to the jealousy which the high aristocracy felt of royal power. Of the three grand divisions of the empire of the Carlovingians — Italy, Gaul, and Germany — the former was the one in

which the dukes, the governors of provinces, and the leaders of armies, were the most influential. From the times of the Lombard conquerors, they had perpetuated their dignities in their families; they were, in fact, become petty sovereigns; they had considerable revenues, and devoted soldiers; their fiefs were of great extent, and the population on them was once more become considerable: they knew that emperors and kings regarded them with jealousy; and, in order to limit the power of the throne, their constant policy had been to divide their suffrages between the two competitors, that the actual sovereign, seeing himself threatened by a rival, might always feel the necessity of buying their support by the concession of new privileges.

Berenger duke of Friuli, proclaimed king of Italy in 888, and emperor in 915, had worn the Italian crown for sixteen years without a rival. In the year 905, he took the emperor Louis of Provence prisoner; and as a punishment for the violation of a preceding treaty by that prince, he had caused his eyes to be put out; after which he sent him back to his kingdom of Provence, which Louis, now surnamed the Blind, governed for eighteen years. Berenger, notwithstanding this act of inhumanly rigid justice, had been much more frequently distinguished for his magnanimity and his forgiveness of injuries than for his severity. Of all the princes who had risen on the ruins of the throne of the Carlovingians, he was the one who had merited in the highest degree the respect and the love of his subjects. He had re-awakened the military spirit of his kingdom, and had displayed no less talent for civil administration than for war. Lastly, he had shown those private virtues,—that generosity, that frankness, that confidence in the loyalty and honour of others,—which win the heart and elevate the soul of all who come under their influence. But the turbulent nobles of Italy, always jealous of the royal authority, dreaded the loss of their privileges, if they had to defend them against a king who possessed the affections of his people.

They looked out for a rival among the Frankic princes; they offered the crown to Rudolf II. king of Transjurane Burgundy, who, for about two years (from 923 to 925) united the government of Italy to that of Switzerland. The civil wars they stirred up, laid open their country to the ravages of the Hungarians. Berenger defeated both his barbarian invaders and his rivals; but it was only to fall under the dagger of an assassin armed by the same faction. Rudolf II. was very soone abandoned by those who had invited him. Hugh count of Provence was raised to the throne, in his place, in 926. For half a century, Italy had been a prey to factions which were not animated by any true spirit of liberty; they sprang rather from the ambition of haughty nobles who could not brook submission to any regular government, and who preferred a foreign monarch solely because he was further from them. At length, fatigued and exhausted by their animosities and struggles, she yielded herself up, though unconquered, as a dependency of the crown of Germany. The submission of the kingdom of Lombardy to Otho the Great was not the consequence of weakness, or of want of courage in the soldiery; still less was it the result of any claim which the Saxon monarch could establish to the crown. It was the fatal effect of the independence to which the high aristocracy had attained in this country, above any other; the effect of the greatness, the power, and the ambition of such nobles as the marquesses of Tuscany, the dukes of Spoleto and Friuli, the marquesses of Ivrea, and other great lords, who sacrificed the independence of their country to jealousy of their countrymen, and to the desire of concealing their encroachments from the monarch, whom it was therefore inconvenient to have near at hand.

The second of the countries detached from the western empire—Gaul, or France—was that of which, in the tenth century, the strength was the most completely broken, the European importance the most completely

destroyed. After the death of king Eudes, count of Paris, the crown had been restored to Charles, the posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer. He was anointed and crowned at Rheims, with the consent of the nobles of Neustria, at the beginning of the year 898: but if, on the one side, the people saw with pleasure the sole offspring of the house of Charlemagne seated on the throne of his ancestors; on the other, their attachment was soon cooled by the profound incapacity of this young man, to whom they gave the surname of the Simple. Incapable of conducting himself, or of distinguishing friends from enemies, he fell into the hands of successive favourites, whom chance brought around his person, and who used his name as a cover for their own acts of injustice and oppression. A man of low birth, named Haganon, who had gained his confidence, excited the special resentment of the Franks by his imprudent rapacity; and, in the end, occasioned the ruin of his master

The authority of Charles was already greatly circumscribed. Not only did four other princes in Gaul, besides himself, bear the title of king, — those of Lorraine, Transjurane Burgundy, Provence, and Bretagne; but even in his kingdoms of Aquitaine and of Neustria, puissant dukes and counts — those of Burgundy, Toulouse, Vermandois, Poictiers, and Aquitaine — governed their dominions with absolute independence, and scarcely gave any other mark of deference to the crown, than that of inscribing in their acts the year of the reign of Charles the Simple. The feudatories south of the Loire were almost forgotten by the king, and he hardly found occasion to remark that they had ceased to obey him; but the insubordination of the count of Paris, who, in his reign, also assumed the title of duke of France, caused him more uneasiness. The house of the counts of Paris owed its greatness to Charles the Bald, who, as a recompence to Robert the Strong for the assistance he had afforded him, gave him the government of Paris and of the country situated between

the Seine and the Loire. A Capitulary, published towards the end of Charles's reign, had rendered this government, like all the others, hereditary. During the disorders which reigned at the end of the ninth century, the provincial authority of these counts had increased, while that of the king had diminished. At the deposition of Charles the Fat, Eudes, the son of count Robert, had assumed the title of king. During his reign he strengthened and extended the hereditary domain of his family; and when, upon the death of Eudes, the crown of France reverted to the Carlovingian line, in the person of Charles the Simple, the real sovereignty, the substantial power, continued in the hands of Robert duke of France, the brother of Eudes; and of his son, Hugh the Great, count of Paris. Charles, who perceived that they were absolute masters in the kingdom which was called his, abandoned his residence in their fiefs, where he felt himself an inferior and a dependant. The city of Laon was almost the only one the government of which had not been bestowed on some count: thither he removed his court and his seat of government; and his son and grandson, who reigned after him, scarcely ever went beyond the bounds of the Laonnais.

Whatever was the incapacity of Charles the Simple, whatever wrongs of commission or of omission he might have to answer to his immediate vassals, his share in the general government of the kingdom was so small, his authority was so little felt or regarded by the great nobles, that they might safely have allowed him to retain, to the end of his life, a title of which he could make no bad use. But at the same time that they had stripped him of all real power or efficiency, they expressed astonishment that he did not protect his kingdom as vigorously as the most puissant and glorious of his ancestors could have done; they accused him of abuses to which he was a stranger; they reproached him with the hostile invasions which they would not furnish him troops to repel. An assembly of nobles,

held at Soissons in 920, resolved to depose him; and the lords, using a symbolical custom taken from the newly created feudal system, broke straws and threw them in the air in his presence; thus declaring, that they renounced their allegiance to him. The expression, *rompre la paille*, borrowed from this ceremony, and signifying, openly to renounce all friendship with any one, has remained in use to the present day. In spite of this violent proceeding, Charles the Simple continued to reign for nearly three years longer: the nobles, who were scarcely conscious of his existence, took little trouble to complete his downfall. It was not till he offended duke Robert by an act of private injustice,—the usurpation of an ecclesiastical benefice which he endeavoured to dispose of to the count's prejudice,—that his puissant vassal took arms against him, and caused himself to be crowned at Rheims, at the end of June, 922. Less than a year afterwards—on the 15th of June, 923—Robert was killed in a battle fought against Charles the Simple, between Soissons and St. Médard.

But the malcontent party were not disheartened by the loss of their leader. They offered the crown to duke Rudolf of Burgundy, who actually wore it from 923 to 936, though he scarcely ever quitted his hereditary fief, or took any share in the government of France. He abandoned all that still remained of the royal power to Hugues le Blanc, count of Paris, and son of Robert; while Charles the Simple, betrayed by Heribert count of Vermandois, to whom he had intrusted his personal safety, was arrested at Peronne, and conveyed to Château Thierry, where he was kept prisoner more than five years, till, on the 7th of October, 929, he died.

During this period, which we designate as the reign of Charles the Simple, though he had so small a share in the events by which it was marked; whilst the sovereign authority was in abeyance—residing neither in the king, nor in the national assemblies, which were no longer convoked; whilst France was but a formless col-

lection of independent sovereignties, slightly and imperfectly bound together by a feeble federative system—having neither laws whose authority they equally recognised, nor a uniform system of procedure, nor a common treasury, nor a common army, nor a general currency; one single event of real importance occurred. This was the final settlement of the Northmen in that part of Neustria, which received from them the name of Normandy; an event which changed the most formidable enemies of France into the best and bravest of her citizens.

Among the Norse chiefs, one of the most formidable was Rou, or Rollo, who, in the year 876, had performed his first feats of arms in France with the fierce comrades of his enterprise; and who, from that time alternately falling upon Neustria, Aquitaine, Lorraine, and England, had made himself the terror of the West, the idol of his northern comrades, and at length the supreme commander of their armies. In 911, quitting the shores of England with a formidable fleet, he ascended the Seine, and laid siege to Paris. This aggression was suspended by a three months' truce, which Charles the Simple obtained from him by the aid of gold. But scarcely had this period elapsed when Rollo began to lay waste the provinces with unheard-of cruelty, burning churches, massacring priests, and exterminating the whole population, excepting the women, whom he led away captive. The king, who had no troops to oppose to him, sent the archbishop of Rouen, named Franke or Francon, to offer to cede to him a vast province of France, in which he and his warriors might establish themselves; if, at this price, he would abstain from ravaging the rest of the kingdom, and acknowledge the sovereignty of the crown of France. Rollo appeared tempted by these offers; and an armistice was concluded in the year 911, between the French and the Normans, to allow time for settling the terms of the approaching treaty. The first exacted by the bishops who were intrusted with the negotiation was, that Rollo and his sol-

diers should make a public profession of Christianity. The conversion of an army and a people who had so long distinguished themselves by their furious hostility to the churches and the ministers of the Christian religion, did not present the difficulties that might have been anticipated. For near a century the Normans had been living among the Christians of France or of England, and had lost sight of their own priests and the temples of their fathers' gods. They regarded Christianity as the religion of civilisation. Several of their chiefs had successively embraced it, when Louis le Débonnaire and his successors had offered them lands in Friesland and on the Rhine, on that condition. Alfred the Great had found equal pliancy among the Danes, to whom he had granted settlements in East Anglia and Northumberland. This primary condition once agreed upon, Charles showed great facility as to all others. He gave his own daughter Gisèle to Rollo in marriage; and ceded to him and his followers the whole province which still bears their name, from the river Epte, which falls into the Seine below Rocheguyon, to the sea. And as this region had been rendered completely desert by the ravages of the Normans; as all traces of agriculture had disappeared, and forests had covered the deserted fields; Charles compelled Berenger count of Rennes, and Alain count of Dol, to bind themselves to furnish provisions for the Normans. It appears that, at the same time, he ceded to these nobles all the claims of the crown over that part of Britany which no longer acknowledged its allegiance to the king of France.

After the conditions of the establishment of the Normans in maritime Neustria were settled, king Charles, accompanied by Robert, count of Paris and duke of France, repaired to a place named St. Clair, on the left bank of the Epte; whilst Rollo, surrounded by his soldiers, appeared on the right. Peace was then confirmed by mutual oaths. Rollo swore fidelity to king Charles, who, in return, committed his daughter to his hands, and invested him with the duchy of Normandy. The bishops

then told Rollo that he could not receive a gift of such price, without, in return, kissing the king's feet. We find that these servile forms, so alien from the manners of northern barbarians, were invariably ingrafted on feudality by the priests. They had transplanted them from the courts of Eastern despots to their own church, whence they taught them again to the kings of the West. It is difficult to say whether this was the result of mere habit, or whether they took a delight in humbling the secular grandees who disputed with them the highest rank in the state. "Never," replied Rollo, "will I bend my knees before any man; never will I kiss the foot of any mortal being!" As, however, the bishops continued to urge him, he ordered one of his soldiers to kiss the king's foot in his stead. The soldier, instead of stooping down to the king's foot, raised it to his own mouth; and that in so ungentle a manner, that he threw the king down backward.* The Normans hailed this affront to royalty with shouts of laughter. The assembled people were thrown into a state of agitation and alarm, as if it were the prelude to another attack. Charles's nobles thought it more prudent to disguise their resentment, and the ceremony continued. The nobles were called in turn, after the king and duke Robert, to swear to guarantee to Rollo and his successors, from generation to generation, the possession of the lands ceded to him. The counts, courtiers, bishops, and abbots, all took the oath; after which the king returned into France, and Rollo, accompanied by duke Robert, set out for Rouen.

Robert duke of France had been the mediator and the pacificator of the Normans, and was, therefore, chosen as the sponsor of the new convert. Rollo was presented at the font by the duke, who gave him his name, and was baptized by Francon archbishop of

* Robert Wace, a poet contemporary with Henry I., and author of the Romaunt de Rou (Rollo), says nothing of this somewhat rough practical joke being performed by deputy. According to him, it was the Norse hero himself who was guilty of the irreverence. — *Transl.*

Rouen, in the cathedral church of that city (A. D. 912). During the seven days that he wore the white robe of a catechumen, the bishops who instructed him in the articles of his new faith, induced him every day to grant some fresh portion of land to some church in Normandy. These were his first infeudations. As soon as he had received baptism, he divided the rest of his duchy among the officers of his army. Each of these districts received the appellation of county (*comté*); and the Norman chief to whom it was granted, in his turn, partitioned it among his soldiers. The feudal system had slowly gained ground in the rest of Europe; the reciprocal duties of lord and vassal had begun to be regulated by custom; the authority of the counts, who represented the king, had ceased to be in opposition with that of the lords of the soil; the functions of the *missi dominici* had fallen into desuetude; the different tenures of land, after causing extreme confusion, also began to fall under some classification. By introducing into Normandy the feudal system full grown and complete; by taking advantage of all the lights which experience, up to that time, had furnished; by giving a similar origin to all property, Rollo had it in his power to secure to the legislation of his country, a regularity which it had nowhere as yet attained to; and this province, the most recently constituted, soon served as a model to all the others.

This nation of warriors now set themselves to the cultivation of the land with the same ardour and energy with which they had heretofore ravaged it. Foreigners from all countries were invited to come and establish themselves in Normandy: rigorous laws were promulged, and were no less rigorously enforced, for the protection of property; all thieves or robbers were punished with death; and, from a sort of bravado, Rollo hung a pair of bracelets of massive gold from the branches of an oak near the Seine, where they remained three years untouched. The new duke also rebuilt the churches his countrymen had destroyed; he surrounded

the cities with walls, he closed the mouths of rivers with barricades, and put himself in a state of defence against new pirates who might be inclined to follow the track he had traced but for them. Sensible, however, that fortifications cannot protect a nation without the bravery of its soldiers, he maintained war on his frontiers in order to keep up the military dispositions and habits of his people. He could not, conformably with his treaty, turn his arms against the French; he therefore attacked Guemhaillon, count of Cornwall, who in the year 907 had succeeded to Alwin the Great in the sovereignty of Britany. He defeated him in several engagements, and forced the Bretons at length to submit to a foreign yoke.

The conversion of duke Rollo, and his settlement, with his Norman followers, in that part of maritime Neustria which bears their name, is unquestionably the most remarkable event which occurs in the history of France during the tenth century,—the event followed by the most important and the most lasting consequences. It put an end to that war of devastation and of pillage which, during a whole century, had depopulated western Germany, Belgium, Gaul, and England. It enabled those countries to return to the cultivation of their deserted fields, to apply themselves once more to the arts of peace, to rebuild their ruined temples, and to restore the shattered defences of their towns. Above all, it remodelled the national character. The mixture of another race, vigorous, enterprising, and intrepid, infused among them that spirit of adventure which always distinguished the Normans, from the shores of their native Baltic to their latest conquests in Sicily or the principality of Edessa, which they won during the crusades.

The mother-tongue of the Normans, Danish, or mor properly Norse, was only a dialect of that great Teutonic language spread over the whole of Germania, another dialect of which was spoken by the Franks. This, though in the dominions of Charles the Simple

abandoned by the latter for the corrupt Roman, or embryo French, was still understood by the princes, and preserved with a sort of reverence as the language of the victor race. It is, therefore, somewhat extraordinary that the Normans, instead of blending their language with the cognate tongue of the Teutonic Franks, should have adopted the Romanz French. We must, doubtless, attribute this phenomenon to the clergy, whom the conquerors found established in Normandy, and from whom they received their new education. The Normans became very sincere Christians; and, carrying into their religion the same fervour and earnestness which characterised all their actions, they frequented the schools, the catechisms, the sermons of their priests: they laboured to understand what they heard; and two generations had not passed away before the Romanz French was become their mother-tongue. But they infused into this language that life and energy which inspired all they did, and which they had likewise communicated to the military discipline of France. The rustic Roman, the patois which ignorance had formed out of corrupt Latin, became, in the hands of the Normans, a regular written language, well adapted for every purpose of legislation or of poetry. One century only had elapsed when they employed it for a code of laws, or a romance of chivalry.* They were the first of the French nation who did so employ it; and the Romanz poetry received from them its wild and daring character and its aptitude for works of imagination.

Other princes had already tried in Germany, in France, and in England, to reclaim the Northmen from their predatory habits, and allure them to agricultural life, by giving up to them a province where they were

* The rapid disappearance of the language of the conquerors is one of the most singular facts in history. Wace says that Louis d'Outremer sent to Willeaume Longue Espée an ambassador named Cosne, who knew how to speak "Thioiz" (Teutsch) and "Normant." William Longsword, though the son and successor of Rollo, was obliged to send his son, duke Richard I., to Bayeux to learn Norse. "Richard," says Wace, recapitulating his accomplishments, could speak "Danciz et Normant."—*Transl.*

permitted to live under their own chiefs and their own laws. But the moment for this conversion had not as yet arrived. In every case they had abandoned their new colonies after a few years, and returned to their wild and adventurous life, which they regarded as at once more glorious and more agreeable. The change which had taken place in two essential points determined the followers of Rollo to adopt the habits of civilised life with earnestness and perseverance. These were, first, the desolation of the country lying along the shores of the British Channel; and, secondly, the independence of the feudal lords, and the resistance they began to oppose in each province. When the Normans made a descent on a point of the coast, far from being sure of finding booty wherewith to load their barks, they now often found it difficult to collect provisions enough for their subsistence, and were forced to plunge into the depths of forests which had grown up in these depopulated regions, or into tracts of marshes formed by rivers which had been let to overflow their banks; to approach mountains, every defile of which might conceal an ambuscade; and, as local authorities had universally taken the place of a central administration, there was not a province where they did not encounter a chieftain interested in repelling or cutting them off, and bands of peasants whom despair had driven to take up arms, and flock to his standard. The plunder had become both too poor and too dearly purchased; and the Normans had begun to perceive that less toil would suffice to put them in possession of the riches which lay hidden in the soil of Normandy, than to pursue what remained in the hands of the peasants of Burgundy through such formidable obstacles, and such incessant contests.

The same causes operated, more slowly, perhaps, on the two other piratical nations, who at the same time devastated the western empire: but they did operate; and towards the end of the tenth century their invasions ceased altogether. The Saracens did not content them-

selves with occasional descents on the coasts: they had established colonies on the Continent, whence they extended their ravages far and wide. The principal of these were in Campania, Puglia, Calabria, and in Provence. The place which was for the longest time the centre of their depredations was their colony of Frainer or Frassineto, near Fréjus. Twenty Spanish Saracens were driven on these shores by a tempest: finding a good landing-place at the foot of Monte Moro, and impervious forests all around, they established themselves there, and invited their countrymen to join them. At first they hired themselves to Provençal nobles, who hated each other, and, without courage to make war in their own persons, were glad to avail themselves of any instruments of mutual aggression. When, however, the Saracens had become more powerful, or more secure in the cowardice of their neighbours, they carried their devastations on the one hand into Provence, on the other into Italy.

It was, doubtless, by taking advantage of the feuds between the neighbouring kings and nobles that the Saracens ventured to cross their frontiers on either hand, to follow the line of the Alps to a considerable distance from the sea, and at last to fix themselves in the country the least fitted by its climate, its defensible character, and the ruggedness of its mountains, for the wandering tribes of Africa. During the first half of the tenth century we find frequent mention of the Saracens, who were masters of the pass of St. Maurice in the Valais. At a later period they totally disappear, nor can we find any record of the causes or means of their expulsion.

Three streams, — the Normans from the north and west, the Saracens from the south, the Hungarians from the east, — had poured down with desolating fury upon Europe. Those of the latter tribe, who called themselves Magyars, had been driven from the mountains of northern Asia, where the Tanaïs has its source, about the year 868. They had traversed the shores of the Black Sea, crossed the Don, forced the passes of the Krapack

mountains, and had at length fixed themselves in Pannonia, and the countries which the Huns had formerly occupied. Their only dwellings were a sort of covered waggons, in which they conveyed their wives and children. Mounted on small horses, lightly accoutred with bows and arrows, they were not less formidable in flight than in attack, and surpassed even the Northmen in cruelty.

The emperor Arnulf is accused of having opened the gates of the West to them, in the year 894, when he let them loose upon the Moravians, with whom he was at that time at war. Arnulf, who had shown considerable vigour, and had caused the kingdom of Germany to be respected, at a time when all the other western states were nodding to their fall, died on the 8th of December, 899. From the time of his death Germany entered on a period of calamities similar to those which had long desolated France and Italy. His son, Louis IV., who succeeded him, was only seven years old: he died on the 21st of November, 911, having not yet attained the age of twenty. During this long minority, the revolts of the subject Slavonian tribes, and the incursions of the Hungarians, rendered Germany a scene of ruin and desolation. Without looking behind them, without thinking of securing a retreat, the latter pushed forward across a country where their course was heralded by terror, and tracked by the blood of defenceless peasants, and the smoking ashes of their crops and habitations. The lightness of their equipments, and the rapidity of their movements, enabled them to escape from the heavily-mounted Germans; and while they avoided all regular combat, they spread death around them. Bavaria, Swabia, Thuringia, and Franconia, were ravaged by the Hungarians during the whole reign of Louis IV.

The reign of Arnulf had raised the power and dignity of the monarch among the eastern Franks. That of Louis IV., on the contrary, annihilated the unity of the monarchy. During his long minority the German nobles suddenly arrogated that independence which th

lords of France had slowly usurped during the reign of Charles the Bald and his successors; and it was precisely because Germany was more populous, more warlike — because the armies of the king were better disciplined — that the dukes, who, under Arnulf, were only the lieutenants of the king, rendered themselves formidable, under Louis IV., as proprietors of provinces and masters of armies. The eastern Franks or Franconians, the Saxons, the Swabians, the Bavarians, and Lotharingians, divided under as many independent dukes, appeared so many distinct nations, ready to declare war on each other.

With Louis IV. expired the illegitimate branch of the descendants of Charlemagne (November 21. 911), which had kept possession of the crown of Germany after the extinction of the legitimate branch. Charles the Simple was the sole survivor of the long line of Carlovingian kings; and his faculties were so dull and feeble, that his stupidity had become proverbial. If the long hostilities of the German people against the Slavonians, whom their oppressions had driven to despair; if the attacks of the Hungarians, who had already conquered the whole of the eastern marches, now called Austria, had not forced upon them the necessity of uniting for their own defence, they would probably have hesitated to give a new chief to the state. An imbecile chief was out of the question; and, rejecting all idea of submitting to such a monarch as Charles the Simple, the dukes, who pretended to represent the nation, offered the crown, first, to Otho, duke of Saxony. He declined it, on the plea of his advanced age, and recommended to their suffrages Conrad, duke of Franconia, who was unanimously elected.

Conrad, whose valour and policy have been greatly celebrated, reigned seven years, nearly the whole of which were passed in the field (A. D. 912—918), at one while to check the invasions of the Hungarians, at another, to quell the insurrections of Swabia and of Bavaria; at another, to make war on Henry duke of

Saxony, who succeeded to his father Otho on the 30th of November, 913; or to recall to their allegiance the Lotharingians, who had invited Charles the Simple, and made overtures towards a reunion with the French monarchy. Conrad I., king of Germany, died on the 23d of December, 918; and, as he had no children, he imitated the generous conduct of Otho towards himself. He recommended to the suffrages of the Germans his rival, Henry of Saxony, to whom he charged his brother Eberhard to deliver up the regalia of the kingdom. Henry I., surnamed the Fowler, was consequently elected soon afterwards, by the diet of Fritzlar. From the year 918 to 936, Germany was governed by a great prince, who delivered her from the ravages of the Hungarians, established order and security at home, and made her formidable abroad.

The repression of the Hungarians was become the most urgent interest, not of Germany only, but of all Europe. But it could hardly be hoped that states which were too ill organised to watch over their own interests, to provide for their own defence, would unite their efforts for a common object. The emperor Berenger, after sometimes driving back the Hungarians from Italy by arms, sometimes purchasing their retreat, in the latter years of his life, had contracted an alliance with them. It appears that, being extremely pressed by Rudolf of Burgundy, he ceded to them the passes of Friuli. A few months after his death, they took advantage of this opening. One of their most formidable armies appeared before Pavia on the 12th of March, 924.

This city, which might then be regarded as the second in the western empire for population and for wealth, was reduced to ashes; forty-three churches were destroyed, all the inhabitants were put to the sword, and it is affirmed that only two hundred souls survived out of the immense population it had contained. After this horrible carnage, the Hungarians, instead of returning to Pannonia with their spoil, pushed onward,

and, having traversed the Alps, spread like a torrent over the plains of Provence. After crossing the Rhone above Arles, they attacked and pillaged Nismes. From thence they marched to Toulouse, which they visited with all the horrors of fire and sword. Here, however, their army was attacked by a dreadful epidemy, and was at length entirely destroyed by Raymond Pons, count of Toulouse.

About the same time other Hungarian armies, traversing the whole extent of Germany, had reached the banks of the Rhine, had swum across that river, and laid waste Lorraine and Neustria, in the same manner as they had formerly ravaged Germany.

Charles the Simple, having at his disposal only fifteen hundred soldiers, who had been procured for him by the archbishop of Rheims, had kept them under the walls of Laon, without daring to encounter so terrible a foe, and waiting till, gorged with plunder and with blood, they should retire of themselves. In fact, after a few weeks, the Hungarians evacuated Champagne. They, however, revisited it several times.

Henry the Fowler, who had consented, during the civil wars which embarrassed the commencement of his reign, to pay a yearly tribute to the Hungarians, in the year 933 refused any longer to submit to this humiliation. The incensed Hungarians marched into Germany in two formidable armies, one of which encamped on the Saale, at Merseburg, while the other ravaged Thuringia. Henry, having collected around his banner the Saxons and the Bavarians, advanced on the former army, and offered battle. The Hungarians hesitated. They kindled large beacon fires, in the hope of bringing to their assistance their companions, of whom they now felt the need; but they were not within reach of their signals. The army of Thuringia had been attacked by the counts of Thuringia and of Saxony, and cut to pieces. The fugitives who had escaped from the field of battle, wandering about the country, hunted and massacred by the peasants, could not reunite. When this great disaster was

made known to the Hungarians at Merseburg they endeavoured to escape, by flight, from the vengeance of Henry the Fowler; but terror soon gave them up, a defenceless prey, to the swords of the Germans. It was not a battle; it was a frightful butchery, in which thirty-six thousand of their warriors, as it is affirmed, perished. This terrible defeat put an almost total end to the invasions which had so long devastated France, Italy, and Germany.

# CHAP. XXIII.

STATE OF EUROPE IN THE NINTH CENTURY. — HOUSE OF SAXONY. — DEATH OF HENRY THE FOWLER — HIS CHOICE OF OTHO I. — EXCLUSION OF CHANKMAR — HIS DEATH. — OTHO'S PERSON, CHARACTER, AND GOVERNMENT — HIS VICTORIES — HIS INFLUENCE OVER LOUIS IV. OF FRANCE. — UNION OF ITALY WITH GERMANY — ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES. — STATE OF ITALY. — COUNT HUGH OF PROVENCE. — BERENGER II., KING OF LOMBARDY. — DESTRUCTION OF THE ROYAL POWER IN FRANCE AND BURGUNDY. — DISGRACEFUL STATE OF THE PONTIFICATE. — RUIN OF THE CITIES OF FRANCE AND GERMANY, AND OF STATIONARY COMMERCE. — TRAVELLING MERCHANTS. — HANDICRAFTS EXERCISED BY SERFS. — ORIGIN OF SMALL TOWNS. — DECLINE OF MUNICIPAL LIBERTIES. — DEFECTIVE STATE OF HISTORY. — LOTHAIRE — HIS UNSUCCESSFUL WARS. — MARRIAGE OF LOUIS V. — HIS IMBECILITY. — CONDUCT OF BLANCHE. — DEATH OF LOUIS V. — CHARLES OF LORRAINE, THE LAST OF THE CARLOVINGIANS — HIS IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH. — USURPATION OF HUGH CAPET — HIS CHARACTER. — DEATH OF OTHO THE GREAT. — OTHO II. — HIS INVASION OF FRANCE. — HIS WAR WITH THE GREEKS — HIS CAPTURE AND ESCAPE — HIS DEATH. — OTHO III. — REVOLT OF THE ITALIANS. — CRESCENTIUS — HIS DEATH. — REVENGE OF HIS WIFE STEFANIA. — DEATH OF OTHO III. — EXTINCTION OF THE HOUSE OF SAXONY. — DISSOLUTION OF ALL THE ANCIENT MONARCHIES. — STATE OF EUROPE.

During the former half of the tenth century, the Christian states of Europe were not united under one supreme controlling will, as at the beginning of the ninth; they did not constitute an association, — a republic of princes, the several members of which, though acknowledging no subordination of one to another, are still aware, that there exist between them mutual relations, duties, and rights, — in short, an association like that formed by the same states in the eighteenth century. On the contrary, this assemblage seemed but the result of a fortuitous

arrangement of independent bodies, who, though placed in contact, knew nothing of each other; who neither understood, nor sought to understand, each other's interests and sentiments. It is true, the victory gained by Henry the Fowler over the Hungarians at Merseburg was, in some sort, an event of common interest, as it put an end to dangers and calamities felt throughout Europe. Germany, Italy, Aquitaine, Lorraine, and Neustria, had suffered from the ravages of the Hungarian armies; and, though no longer connected with each other, found a common subject of rejoicing in their defeat. From that time the house of Saxony rose in importance in the eyes of all Europe; and Henry the Fowler, being succeeded by a son still more illustrious than himself, Otho I., and a grandson and great-grandson, Otho II. and Otho III., who were esteemed worthy of treading in his footsteps, the whole attention of their contemporaries was fixed upon these successive rulers of Germany. Otho I., after an interregnum of thirty-nine years, was adorned with the imperial crown, and thenceforward placed himself at the head of Christendom.

Henry the Fowler died in 936, after having prevailed on the princes of Germany to acknowledge as his successor Otho I., the eldest of the sons borne him by his second wife; to the prejudice of Thankmar, his eldest son, whose mother he had repudiated, under pretext of a vow she had made. There was no doubt that the crown of Germany was elective; and whatever were the motive which determined Henry to make a choice amongst his children, that choice, once confirmed by the princes of Germany, became legitimate. Still the jealousy and resentment of Thankmar, who saw himself thus excluded from his father's throne, were natural: his revolts against his brother were to be excused; and the beginning of the reign of Otho the Great is stained by his cruelty to Thankmar, who, after the first civil war, was killed in 937, at the foot of the altar at Ehresburg. The conduct of Otho, with respect to his children, was also not without reproach; like his father,

he preferred those of his second wife to those of his first, and goaded to rebellion his eldest son Ludolf, who died in Italy, in the year 957.

Thus Otho the Great, in common with Charlemagne, began his career with domestic crimes; like all his contemporaries, he acted under the influence of the opinions of his age; he felt the same ambition, the same fierce and ungoverned passions as the less illustrious sovereigns whom he succeeded; like them, he sacrificed his duty to his interest, before his own great genius and noble qualities enabled him to raise himself above the vulgar herd of kings. Let us be indulgent to his memory, for his was the inevitable fate of great men born in a barbarous age. Vast reflection and an extensive study of the world are requisite to enable a man to reconstruct a code of morals for his own use; to attain a perception of the right and the just, at a period when they are unknown; and, above all, to destroy a dangerous code of monkish virtues and compensations for crime, which have been inculcated under the most sacred names, and whose only effect has been, to lull the conscience to rest, leaving to the passions their ancient empire. Otho's morality, like his wisdom, improved with age, because his actions were more and more swayed by the principles his own heart suggested, in preference to the example or the precepts of the pedants who had formed his youth.

Unfortunately, our information concerning the glorious reign of Otho from 936 to 973, — a reign which, more than any other, contributed to the civilisation of Germany, — is extremely slight. We know, generally, that, from this period, Saxony, though she had not yet emerged from barbarism, beheld the increase of her towns and cities; that the arts of industry made some progress; that mines of silver and copper were discovered and worked near Gosslar by the inhabitants. But the historians of the time give us few details as to the manner in which Otho governed his vast empire. Perhaps, indeed, there were but few to give; it appears

that, during his continual journeys, undertaken either for the purpose of leading his troops, or of presiding at the comitia of his several kingdoms, he suffered the nobles in the northern states, and the cities in the southern, to manage their provincial administration in their own way; and that the greater part of the municipal institutions and customs of the empire were established during his reign. Otho had the lofty stature, the intrepid and commanding countenance, the abundance of fair hair, the bright, open, and daring eye, and the ruddy complexion of the North: he wore a long beard: contrary to the usage of his time, he spoke little else but German, though he understood the Roman dialect used in France, and the language of his Slavonic neighbours; it was not till late in life that he learned to read, and that he acquired some knowledge of Latin. The chase, and the exercises of chivalry, were his favourite pleasures: he preserved all the vigour of youth up to the time of his death, which took place when he was sixty-one years of age.

Otho was not, like Charlemagne, the sovereign of a vast empire extending over all Europe, but rather the chief of a confederation of princes, sharing the countries which had formed that empire: his rank was recognised in Germany, Gaul, and Italy, as being equal to Charlemagne's, but his power was by no means the same. The union of those independent states which acknowledged him as their chief seemed maintained only by the superiority of his talents and character; accordingly, we find that these states were sufficiently well constituted to maintain their own independence after his death. Charlemagne, on the contrary, who had concentrated the power in his own person, could not have abandoned it without endangering the whole structure of the Western empire.

The victories gained by Otho in the civil wars of Germany served as steps by which he ascended to empire. Each of the dukes who governed the great provinces esteemed himself an equal of the monarch. In a succession of battles, Otho taught them obedience:

he then gave Bavaria to his youngest brother Henry; Lorraine to St. Bruno, another brother; the new bishoprics of Havelberg and Brandenburg to prelates who undertook the civilisation of the Slavonian tribes, and the marquisate of Lausitz (Lusatia) to a new feudatory family engaged to defend the eastern frontier. The rest of the duchies of Germany he left in the hands of their ancient hereditary chiefs; not, however, without ascertaining that those chiefs would hereafter be disposed to concur in the defence of their country.

Otho had acquired some renown in his struggle with the dukes of Germany; but popular enthusiasm is excited only in favour of the conquerors of foreign nations: this glory was early the lot of the Saxon monarch. He gained constant advantages over the Slavonian tribes, who occupied the whole eastern frontier of Germany, and carried on an incessant border-warfare; he compelled Harold, king of Denmark, to sue for for peace; finally, he defeated the Hungarians on the banks of the Leck, and thus put an end to the ravages of that ferocious nation.

Otho was not recognised as sovereign of France; but the weakness displayed by the princes who governed that country caused all eyes to be turned upon him. In the year of his accession to the throne of Germany (A. D. 936), Rudolf, king of France, expired; and Louis IV., son of Charles the Simple, then only sixteen years of age, was recalled from England, where he had spent thirteen years in banishment, to receive a crown, which conferred little more than the sovereignty of the city of Laon; whilst his powerful vassal, Hugh count of Paris, who placed that crown upon his head, reserved for himself all the powers and privileges of royalty. Otho I., as sovereign of Lorraine, and as guardian of Conrad the Peaceful, king of Burgundy and Provence, found, from the beginning of his reign, that it fell to him to exercise a powerful influence over the destinies of Louis IV., surnamed d'Outremer, and of count Hugh, who had each married

one of his sisters: that influence he always exercised in a manner honourable to his own character and advantageous to the neighbouring state. During his whole reign, from 936 to 954, Louis d'Outremer, humiliated by the contrast between the pompous titles with which he was decorated, and the weakness of his resources, seized every occasion of aggrandising himself, even at the expense of his brothers-in-law; nor was his conduct to Otho the Great always consistent with truth and loyalty. He took part in the civil wars of Germany, and accepted with eagerness every proposal made to him by the enemies of his powerful neighbour. During the beginning of these two reigns, Louis became the nominal chief of the malcontents of Germany, and Otho of those of France. But the latter, far from abusing his own superior power, seemed to use every effort to re-establish peace and order throughout the West. He interposed to reconcile Louis d'Outremer with his subjects, without in the least abandoning or compromising the interests of the nobles of Neustria, who had placed confidence in him; and, in 942, he prevailed on the king and the count of Paris to sign a treaty of peace, which he undertook to guarantee.

But indisputably the most important event of the reign of Otho I. was the union of the crown of Italy with that of Germany; a union which, though the fruit of his virtues, and the consequence of his high reputation, was not the less fatal to the posterity of both nations; a union repugnant to nature, and prolific only in wars and calamities; a union which subjected the most civilised nations to the most barbarous,—the masters of every art and science to their least skilled disciples; a union which was offensive in proportion as the manners, the opinions, the languages of the two nations were contrasted; as the slowness of apprehension, the avarice, the hardness, and the apathy of the Germans, disgusted a people so lively, intelligent, and impassioned as the Italians; while the very sounds of so harsh and barbarous a language, prevailing in every station of command

seemed formed to offend the musical ear of the people condemned to obey.

It has been remarked, that the feelings of resentment arising from war in the minds of neighbouring nations are far less profound than those occasioned by injuries inflicted under the shadow of peace. Necessity is the first of all laws, to which man learns to submit; and victory, conquest, those grand manifestations of human energy, force us to bow to the empire of necessity. In their submission to the Germans, the Italians had not even this consolation. Otho the Great became their acknowledged sovereign, partly from the imprudence of their leaders, partly from the gratitude of the people. They fought no battles; they underwent no defeat; and, on a sudden, they found their country a dependency of the German crown, before those who proclaimed themselves their masters had been called upon to produce a single title to justify their usurpation; not even that of conquest.

The Italian nation began to awaken from its lethargy in the tenth century; its towns were gradually becoming rich and industrious; virtues and talents were beginning to be unfolded in those numerous governments which enjoyed an almost absolute independence, and which spread new life throughout the provinces. But these governments, — those, at least, of the powerful dukes and marquesses who shared amongst themselves almost the whole country,— were not the work of the nation, and the nation could not be responsible for their faults. It is an accusation brought against these great nobles, that it was their constant aim, during the ninth and tenth centuries, to place two monarchs in opposition to each other, as a means of weakening and cramping both. The marquesses and dukes of Italy appealed to foreign sovereigns, not for the purpose of subjugating their country, but for that of limiting the royal power. It was by them that Otho the Great was twice invited; it was they who believed their liberty and their privileges more secure under a distant monarch; it was

they who presented to that great man a crown for which he was not indebted to his sword, and which he transmitted to successors unworthy of him.

The tyranny of Hugh count of Provence, whom these very nobles had made king of Italy, from 926 to 947, drove them to seek foreign aid. By an artful and dexterous policy, an authority at first very limited, had been changed into absolute power; and the sway of Hugh once established, no part of Italy could have attempted any resistance which would not have been immediately suppressed by force. Accordingly, Berenger II., marquis of Ivrea, withdrew into Germany, for the purpose of assembling the enemies of Hugh, and of forming the army by whose assistance he expected to deliver his country. This furnished Otho the Great with the first occasion of taking an indirect part in the revolutions of Italy, by affording protection to the unhappy exiles who begged him to grant them an asylum. The revolution begun by Berengen II. succeeded; he re-entered Italy at the head of the emigrants; he obliged Hugh to retreat, and was speedily recognised as king. But the example he had given was quickly followed; fresh malcontents, in their turn, had recourse to Otho the Great, and unhappily they also could plead well-grounded subjects of complaint. Otho I. appeared in Italy as the avenger of wrongs, as the champion of justice. In 951, he re-established peace between Berenger II. and his subjects; but, at the same time, he obliged the former to do him homage for his crown. In 960, summoned afresh by the wishes of almost the whole country, he deposed Berenger, took possession of the crown of Lombardy, and on the 9th of February, 962, surmounted it with the imperial diadem. Both were elective, and he owed his nomination to those in whom the right to elect resided: he made a noble use of his power; but the fatal example of uniting Germany with Italy was given; and his German successors looked upon that as a right, which had originally been but a concession on the part of the people.

The strength of character and the distinguished talents of Otho the Great, formed a rare exception to the customary laws of nature. The possession of such qualities enabled him to make a more extended and beneficent use of the royal power than any of the other sovereigns of this period. The exorbitant growth of the privileges of the great nobles, the assumption on their part of all the prerogatives which seem to constitute royalty, had rendered the kingly office useless; it was no longer any thing but a supernumerary wheel, giving additional intricacy to the machine of the state, while it imparted no additional power; a luxury with which, it seems, the people might well have dispensed. In the family even of Otho the Great, the brother of his wife, Conrad the Peaceful (whose guardian the former had been), during a very long reign (A. D. 937—993) over Transjurane Burgundy and Provence, remained so completely inactive, that history has hardly preserved any record of him. The other brother-in-law of Otho, his sister's husband, Louis d'Outremer, died many years before him, in 954, and left an infant son, Lothaire, who grew up under the protection of Otho and his brother St. Bruno, archbishop of Cologne. The count Hugh had survived Louis but two years, and his three sons, the most celebrated of whom was Hugh Capet, were also children. The two widows of Louis and of Hugh, sisters of Otho and St. Bruno, forgot the rivalship which had subsisted between their husbands, and placed themselves, with their children, under the powerful protection of their brother. The royal authority was thus in abeyance in France and Transjurane Burgundy; it was equally so both in Italy and Germany, after the death of the emperor Otho, and especially during the long minority of his grandson, Otho III.; nor does it appear that society experienced any serious inconvenience. In truth, the royal power was not sufficient to enable its possessors to be either permanent moderators or umpires of the feuds of their great vassals. They dared not constitute themselves defenders of the laws

and of public order; on the contrary, they felt themselves compelled to adhere to the more powerful of two rivals; to sanction with their authority the encroachments of the stronger after victory; to alienate what was inalienable; to perpetrate a legal robbery on the lawful heirs in favour of their oppressors; to trample under foot the statutes which regulated the succession of fiefs; to bestow on secular nobles bishoprics and abbacies, which, according to the canons, could be given to none but ecclesiastics; in short, from weakness and fear, to commit, in favour of their more formidable vassals, acts as arbitrary as those of the most absolute despotism.

Kings were not the protectors of the nobility; since they lent their assistance only to those nobles who were already more powerful than themselves, while they refused it to those who really needed support. Kings were not the protectors of the clergy; — not that this powerful order, which in the preceding century, had possessed the real sovereignty of France, was not sometimes in want of a champion; for the blind piety of kings and nobles had no sooner loaded them with riches and fiefs than their treasures and their lands tempted the avidity of the soldiery; or than some knight, uniting the cross and the sword, bore away, as a secular prelate, all the wealth which some former warrior had bestowed upon the church: but the king either tolerated these irregularities, or himself committed them, and the secularisations which caused the greatest scandal almost always obtained his sanction. Finally, kings were not the protectors of a third estate, which they had suffered to be crushed; which, as a national power, no longer existed. Every tie between them and the people was destroyed, and in the serfs of their vassals they could no longer recognise their own subjects.

This state of society was, without doubt, less destructive than that by which it had been preceded; but it is far less favourable to the historian. If we pass in review every topic which properly falls within the province of history, we find that there were, at this

period, absolutely none which could furnish matter for observation; especially at a time when all communication was difficult; when no conveyance for letters existed; when no journal, no periodical publication gave an account of passing events; and when the only knowledge of what was done even in a neighbouring state was conveyed by travelling merchants, or by marching armies. Kings, who had now scarcely any share in the administration of the countries they nominally governed; having no ministry, no standing army; in short, nothing but a household composed of great officers attached to their persons, through whom they carried on the small portion of public affairs that devolved upon them; spent their time chiefly in journeying from castle to castle, or more frequently from convent to convent. We cannot, therefore, wonder if we find the chronicles of the tenth and eleventh centuries sometimes entirely forgetting them for years together. In many of them the learned writers only labour to discover if they were still in existence, and what was the place of their abode. No nation any longer possessed the means of carrying on national wars; and, dating from the cessation of the invasions of the Normans and the Hungarians, the whole military history of the age is almost confined to attacks upon castles in a circle of some leagues around each petty prince. Legislation was as completely suspended as war. In the history of France there are at least four centuries, during which legislative power existed nowhere,—from the last capitulary of the year 882, till a considerable time after the institutions of St. Louis in 1269. And even the latter, with which French legislation recommences, are addressed only to the royal fiefs. In the empire, both in Germany and in Italy, the suspension was shorter or not so complete; but the laws promulgated from the assembly at Roncaglia by the Othos and their successors, were hardly recognised by the states to which they were addressed.

Ecclesiastical history itself seemed suspended; since almost all the more valuable benefices of the church were

become the property of some temporal baron, who could not read, and who thought himself guilty of no usurpation, provided that, however deeply infected with the passions and the vices of his age, he had received the ecclesiastical tonsure. The chair of Rome, even, had not escaped these encroachments of the great feudatory subjects. Too large a portion of grandeur and of wealth had been accumulated around the papal throne, to allow the powerful nobility in the neighbourhood of Rome to regard it without feelings of ambition and envy. Indeed, for some time it became, as it were, hereditary in the family of the marquesses of Tusculum; its destination was likewise repeatedly determined by two Roman ladies, celebrated for their gallantries — Theodora and Marozia — who successively raised to the sacred chair either their lovers or their children. During the greater part of the tenth century, the heads of the Christian church were young nobles, hardly past the age of boyhood, from whom no one thought of demanding a decision in matters of faith, and over the history of whose debaucheries the annalists of the church have rapidly passed, as too scandalous for their pens.

The active portion of the community — the dukes, the counts, the castellans, or lords of castles — almost completely escaped the notice of history, by their profound ignorance, and their complete indifference to the opinions of contemporaries, or to the judgments of posterity. The historical labours set on foot somewhat later by this same nobility, in their genealogical researches or the blazonry of their armorial bearings, had not yet begun. The pride of birth itself is a step made by society towards an appreciation of the value of the esteem of others, which the men of this age had not yet made; as yet, they attached but slight importance to the knowledge of their origin and descent; it was enough for them to feel that they were powerful. We accordingly find that none of the chronicles of these new dynasties were begun in the tenth century; none of the princely

families of that period cared for posterity, or imagined that posterity would care for them.

At a later period, history resumed her labours in the towns and cities both of Italy and Spain. Great assemblages of men had not only common interests, but likewise a necessary publicity, which permitted authors to seize at least the general features of municipal history, and awoke the attention of the men of the time to the advantages which they would derive from an acquaintance with the deeds of former ages; but in the remaining part of the West, in France and Germany, the inhabitants of the towns had little to record but their sufferings. Victims of every invasion; pillaged or burned in every war, whether domestic or foreign, the towns were reduced to the most deplorable condition. Their population was no longer composed of men of independent station, of capitalists, of merchants, and of manufacturers; but of a trembling and enslaved populace, who lived from day to day, and who, if they succeeded in saving any thing, took care to conceal it under an appearance of abject poverty.

These towns were no longer either the seat of government or of any subordinate administration. The kingdoms of France, Germany, Lorraine, Transjurane Burgundy, and Italy, were actually without capitals; each province had no longer its metropolis; castles were the residences of kings, prelates, dukes, counts, and viscounts; in them were assembled the courts of law, and in them was justice administered; in them were to be found all who enjoyed any independent fortune, all who affected the least elegance or luxury in their dwellings or their attire. It is true, that certain trades were still obscurely carried on in the towns, but almost exclusively for the use of the neighbourhood: this was particularly the case in those of the south of Gaul, which had more commonly escaped the ravages so destructive to all those of the north; but, in general, commerce, as must always be the case, had followed in the track of those who required what she could supply.

It was not in the ancient capitals of Gaul that the splendid assortments of armour, and the rich magazines of stuffs, used by the lords and knights, or by the high-born ladies of the castles, were to be found. The merchant had no choice but to be a traveller; as he still is in the Levant, as he still is in every country where the people is oppressed. He went on his way, accompanied by his carriages, and thus transported his goods from the domains of one count or baron to those of another. He had no fixed place of abode, no known warehouse, no fortune, the amount of which could be calculated, except the small quantity of goods which he carried about with him. Thus he avoided the avidity and the extortions of a prince against whose power he had no means of defence; and the protection of those amongst whom he made his regular visits was only obtained by their being made to feel the need in which they stood of his services.

As to the mechanical arts, which required less intelligence, less capital, and which might be exercised indifferently in all places, the powerful took care to have some of their serfs trained to their exercise. Every prelate, every count or viscount, endeavoured to have for his own especial service a set of the same "*good artisans*" that Charlemagne, a hundred and fifty years before, had commanded his judges to provide for each of his castles or royal abodes; viz. "workmen in iron, gold, and silver; stone-cutters, turners, carpenters, armourers, engravers, washers; brewers skilled in making mead, cider, and perry, and all other liquors fit to be drunk; bakers, who likewise have the art of preparing millet for our use; net-makers, able to make every thing appertaining to the chase; and all other tradesmen, whom it would be too long to enumerate." From the time of Charlemagne these artisans were but miserable serfs, who worked on the monarch's account with the materials furnished them by his judges. At a later period, they were equally serfs, but they belonged to the nobles or to the prelates, who had need of their services; and their

number was reduced in the proportion which the power or the wealth of a count bore to that of an emperor of the West. Hence it was that the foundation of a convent or of a castle was always followed by the erection of a wretched village, where, under the shadow of the great house, the men whose labour was necessary to the master congregated.

In the course of the tenth century, these villages, grown with time into small towns, multiplied as the feudatory families also increased; for every house diverged into a great number of branches, and new counts and viscounts inhabited places before unoccupied. But the progress of these villages contributed to hasten the ruin of the large towns; just as the slavery of the artificers had caused the decline of all mechanical arts. The citizens of Paris, Rouen, Amiens, Tours, who, under the first dynasty, had found a certain livelihood in their handicrafts or their commerce; and who, by their labour and economy, could then repair the losses of war and the harassing exactions of the Frank kings, under the second family, could no longer find employment or purchasers. When the Normans, the Saracens, or the Hungarians had burned any great town, a few unhappy beings assembled afresh amongst the ruins; but they brought with them no means of regaining their former opulence, of restoring their families, or of repairing the losses which the mass of the population had suffered. The impoverishment of the towns, and the diminution in the number of their inhabitants at this period, had been followed by the loss of all their privileges. In the tenth century, the curiæ, or the senates of the cities, and the assemblies of the burgesses, which the first Franks had respected, had totally disappeared. Nor did the inhabitants lay claim to any privileges, liberties, or immunities; nor did any insurrectionary movement, any tumult, indicate their discontent at being deprived of them. Indeed, such rights had been silently renounced at the time when the cities had ceased to contain any men of independent fortune or of education,

in the enjoyment of leisure, and possessed of the requisite courage and talents to maintain them.

The state of the different classes of the population in the tenth century, explains both the silence and the confusion of the historians of that period; but without an actual perusal of these ancient documents, it is impossible to conceive to how few lines all that has been preserved to us from that age reduces itself, and how much suspicion attaches even to those few. It would be difficult to imagine all the errors and anachronisms into which Ademar de Chabannes, or the monk Odorannus, have fallen, though both of them rank amongst the number of the best chroniclers of France belonging to that epoch; or the profound ignorance of the affairs of France displayed by Wittikind, in other respects an intelligent historian, and well informed whenever he speaks of Otho I. In the midst of this profound obscurity, we will endeavour to point out in a summary manner the two important events which marked the second half of the tenth century; — in France, the extinction of the second branch of the Carlovingian dynasty; and in Germany and Italy, that of the house of Saxony.

Louis d'Outremer expired on the 10th of September, 954, in consequence of a fall from his horse, which had taken fright at the appearance of a wolf on the banks of the Aisne. He left two children: Lothaire, between thirteen and fourteen years old; and Charles, an infant, who, many years afterwards, was duke of Lower Lorraine. Hugh count of Paris, rival and brother-in-law of Louis IV., died two years after him, on the 16th of June, 956, and left three sons, the eldest of whom, Otho, died in 963; the second, Hugh Capet, was six years younger than king Lothaire; the third was destined to holy orders. Lothaire and Hugh Capet, sons of two sisters, and both protected by Otho the Great and his brother, were brought up by their mothers in great harmony. After they had both arrived at man's estate, it does not appear that this good under-

standing was troubled, or that the rivalry existing between their fathers was renewed between themselves. On the contrary, it is remarkable that Hugh Capet, destined at a later period to play the part of a usurper, during the long reign of his cousin (A. D. 954—986), afforded no remarkable evidence either of ambition or of talents. He passed his life peaceably, in the enjoyment of the wealth and the vast fiefs which rendered him far superior in power to his cousin, of whom he was only the first vassal; and when he was afterwards placed on the throne, he was indebted neither to his merit, his reputation, nor his activity, but to the extreme disproportion between the extent of his possessions and those of the royal family.

The life of Lothaire appears to have been more active; he felt humbled by the contrast between his weakness or his poverty, and the titles with which he was decorated; he set himself to work to recover either power or influence; but to the want of loyalty shown by his father, he added a want of judgment, which made him fail in all his undertakings. On the death of his uncle Otho the Great, on the 7th of May, 973, forgetful of the gratitude he owed him, he thought he might profit by the youth of his cousin Otho II., who was but eighteen years old, and, by the troubles in his family, to strip him of his possessions. He attacked him without making any declaration of war, and defeat and shame were all that he gained. By this aggression he provoked the Germans to enter France and to advance as far as the walls of Paris; while, even in his own army, he had continual proofs of the contempt in which the French held both his courage and his capacity. He made peace with Otho II.; but at the death of the latter, in 983, he again tried to take advantage of the childhood of Otho III., to rob him of some of his provinces. His success was the same as before.

In 985, Lothaire went to Limoges, and spent some months in Aquitaine, to be present at the marriage of his son Louis V., then eighteen years of age, and as-

sociated in the sovereignty for the last six years, to a daughter of account of that country, whose name is not known. The race of the Carlovingians was smitten with the same hereditary imbecility which for so long a period had been the lot of the Merovingians. Lothaire, of whom we know very little, seems to have been an object of universal contempt. His wife Emma not only partook of this sentiment, but is accused of having increased it by her gallantries. "Blanche, the wife of his son," says Rudolf Gläber, a contemporary author, "seeing that the son had still less talent than his father, and being herself a lady of a rare wit, resolved to seek a divorce. She artfully proposed to him to return with her into her own province, to cause her hereditary rights to be acknowledged. Louis, who did not suspect her design, made his preparations for the journey; but as soon as they had passed the frontier of Aquitaine, Blanche abandoned him, and rejoined her countrymen. When Lothaire was informed of this, he set out after his son, and having joined him, brought him home."

This fragment, incomplete as it is, is well nigh the most precise information we have of the reigns of Lothaire and his son. The former died on the 2d of March, 986, and was interred at Rheims: a vague report prevailed that he had been poisoned by his wife. The following year, his son Louis V., who was surnamed le Fainéant, having expired on the 21st of May, 987, his wife, who had returned to him, was also accused of poisoning him. But both of these queens must have seen, that, far from reaping any advantage from such a crime, they had nothing to expect but what in reality followed — the total ruin of the Carlovingian dynasty. The race was not, however, extinct. Lothaire had a brother, Charles duke of Lorraine, who had children. Charles, it is true, had displayed a petulance without capacity, an activity without perseverance, which had rendered him no less contemptible than his more indolent predecessors. Still he was acknowledged at Laon, the only town remaining in the hereditary domain of the sovereign; and

he entered into negotiation with the bishops to secure his coronation. But Hugh Capet, then forty-two years of age, who had not heretofore distinguished himself by any great quality or any striking action, assembled his own vassals,—the counts and barons who held of the earldom of Paris, the duchy of Neustria, and the duchy of France. Their little army saluted him with the title of king at Noyon; and Adalberon, archbishop of Rheims, anointed and crowned him, July 3d, 987, in the cathedral at Rheims. After this pretended election, in which the rest of France took no part whatever, and which several provinces refused to recognise for three or four generations, Hugh Capet besieged Laon, and was repulsed by Charles. Corruption was more successful than arms. The last of the Carlovingians was surprised in his bed by traitors, and thrown into the prison of Orleans, where he died, after many years of captivity.

The degradation and fall of an ancient line, the perfidy of the new sovereign, the disloyalty of those who brought about the revolution, have made this period far from an agreeable subject to French historians: they hurry through it with extreme rapidity, and no part of the history of the monarchy is, perhaps, enveloped in greater obscurity. The later events of the house of Saxony, about the same time, are better known, and related in greater detail.

Otho I., who died on the 7th of May, 973, had, during the latter years of his life, reformed the administration of Italy; he had restored to the pontifical chair its dignity, by causing pope John XII., who dishonoured the tiara by his youth and his vices, to be solemnly deposed by a council; and had put an end to the scandalous proceedings of the counts of Tusculum and their mistresses, who disposed of the pontificate. Otho, who had experienced the inconstancy and faithlessness of the great feudatories of the crown, had strenuously endeavoured to increase the importance of the cities. Those of Italy, which already surpassed any of the West in

number and opulence, obtained from him permission to surround themselves with strong walls; to nominate their own magistrates, who were to perform at the same time the functions of judges, of captains of their militia, and of administrators; in short, to limit the power of the counts sufficiently to protect themselves from arbitrary measures. The people of Italy cherished towards Otho and his family, gratitude proportioned to such vast benefits; and his son, who had been associated with him in the imperial government from the year 967, though only eighteen years old at the death of his father, was recognised without difficulty by the Italians, as their sovereign.

Otho II., surnamed the Red, from the colour of his hair, had not the talents, and still less the virtues, of his father. The vices of his youth determined his mother Adelheid, afterwards venerated as a saint, to retire from the court. His ambition led him to undertake several unjust wars; while his imprudence sometimes brought down defeat upon his arms. He had, however, that activity of mind, that promptitude of decision, that energy, which subjects are so ready to regard as proofs of a great character in their king; and his reign of ten years' duration, from 973 to 983, was not without glory. Unjustly and traitorously attacked by his cousin Lothaire, he entered France to avenge himself at the head of a numerous army; and, as he had predicted, he reached the heights of Montmartre, where he made his soldiers sing hallelujah loud enough to be heard in the church of Ste. Geneviève. In Germany he gained several advantages over his cousin, Henry duke of Bavaria, who was indebted to his unjust aggressions for his nowise honourable surname of le Quérelleur. In Italy, Otho II. had many contests with the Greeks, whom he aimed at depriving of the possession of the provinces of Puglia and Calabria. He had wedded a Greek princess, Theophania, sister of the two emperors Constantine and Basil, whose reign was at once the longest (A. D. 963—1028) and the most obscure in the whole history of Byzantium.

Whilst his two brothers-in-law were engaged in a war against the Bulgarians, which terminated in the conquest of their whole territory, Otho II., who had entered Italy with a numerous German army, in 980, and had strengthened himself by the alliance of the duke of Benevento, advanced into those provinces which now form the kingdom of Naples; an enterprise which the duke of Benevento had greatly facilitated by the cession of all the mountain passes. Capitanata, on the Adriatic, Calabria, and a part of Basilicata alone resisted his whole force. The Greek emperors, it is true, being unable to send troops into Italy, had called in the aid of the Saracens, who joined their arms to those of the Greeks for the defence of Southern Italy.

After a struggle of two years, the fate of the war was decided by a great battle fought near the sea-coast before the little town of Basentello, in Lower Calabria. There Otho II. met the combined army of the Saracens and the Greeks, who were awaiting him. The first attack of the Germans threw the Eastern troops into disorder; but at the moment that the conquerors, in the ardour of pursuit, broke their ranks, the reserve of the Saracens fell upon them, and a fearful massacre ensued.

After the loss of his army, Otho II. fled along the coast, on which the village of Basentello is built. Hard pressed by the Saracens who were in pursuit of him, a Greek galley, which he saw at anchor at some distance, afforded to him in his distress a refuge from fiercer and more implacable enemies. He made himself known to the commander of the galley, and surrendered himself his prisoner. He quickly perceived that the Greek, dazzled by such an unexpected prize, would be willing to sacrifice the advantage of his country to his own interest. Otho promised him vast heaps of gold if he would conduct him to Rossano, where his mother Adelheid then was. The galley set sail for that town. A secret negotiation was entered into by the captain, Otho, and the empress. Whilst several mules, heavily laden, were making their way to the sea-shore, some of

the emperor's guards approached the galley in a boat, to ascertain whether it were really their sovereign, who was shown to them on the deck, clothed in purple. The Greeks, accustomed to the habits of their own emperors who could not take a step without the aid of their eunuchs, and intent on their bargain, were keeping but a careless watch over their prisoner, when Otho threw himself into the sea, swam to the boat which contained his guards, ordered them to row to shore, and putting his own hand to the oar, reached the port, where the captain of the galley could neither retake his prisoner nor touch the promised ransom. Having escaped from his enemies, he immediately retired into Upper Italy.

All the crowns worn by Otho II. were elective; but no sooner had the empress Theophania borne him a son, than he took measures to secure the succession to him. He caused him to be elected king of Germany, by a diet of his states which he called together at Verona. This precaution was justified by the event. Otho II. died at Rome, a few months afterwards (December, 983). The infant Otho III., whom he left under the guardianship of his mother and his grandmother, was for a long time the sport of the German factions, which were instigated by his cousins, Henry le Querelleur, and Lothaire king of France. The affection borne by the Germans to the memory of his father and his grandfather, kept him, however, in possession of the crown. When, in 995, at the age of fifteen, the young Otho III. entered Italy with a German army, to receive the united crowns of the empire and of Lombardy; when, with the help of this same army, he brought about the elevation of his relative, Bruno of Saxony, (who took the name of Gregory V.) to the papal chair; the Italians perceived with amazement that the Germans, by whom they had never been conquered, treated them as a conquered nation; that they no longer paid any regard to their rights and privileges; that they forcibly appropriated to themselves the tiara of Rome, the

imperial crown, and the royalty of Lombardy, to each of which election alone could confer a right. A man, whose heart burned with the remembrance of the ancient glory of Rome, Crescentius, took the title of consul, and placed himself at the head of the cause of Roman liberty, of Italian independence. His great character is but dimly seen amid the thick darkness of the tenth century; the historians of the empire and the church have endeavoured to blacken his reputation; but the grateful people have given the names of the Tower of Crescentius, of the Palace of Crescentius, to the Mole of Adrian, and to a palace on the Tiber, — to objects, in short, which reminded them of a glorious struggle, an obstinate though vain resistance. Crescentius was, at last, reduced to capitulate, and to throw open the Mole of Adrian to the youthful Otho III.; and the latter, with a perfidy of which the oppressors of the Italians (whom they accuse of want of faith) have given many an example, put to death the champion of Italy, contrary to the capitulation to which he had sworn. But Crescentius left a beloved wife, the beautiful Stefania, who, to avenge her husband, threw aside every other sentiment proper to her sex. She learned that Otho III. had fallen ill on his return from a pilgrimage to Monte Gargano; she contrived that her profound skill in medicine should come to his ear. In obedience to his summons she attended on him, dressed in long mourning garments, but still captivating by her beauty; she obtained his confidence, perhaps at the highest of all prices, and made use of it to administer a poison which was soon followed by a painful death. The last of the Othos of Saxony came to Paterno, on the frontiers of the Abruzzi, to breathe his last, on the 19th of January, 1002.

Thus expired the house of Saxony, which, fifty years before, had become illustrious from the splendid qualities of its founder. The Carlovingian line had lately gone out in weakness, imbecility, and shame. The family of Basil the Macedonian was on the point of

terminating with the prince who then reigned; and, before that event, the great kingdom of the Bulgarians had ceased to exist. Kader, the forty-fourth of the khaliphs, successors of Mohammed, could no longer command obedience without the walls of Bagdad. Spain was divided amongst the Moorish kings of Cordubа, and the petty Christian princes of Leon, Navarre, Castile, Sobrarba, and Aragoa. England was invaded and half conquered by the Danes. Great monarchies were every where broken down, great nations no longer recognised a chief, or a common bond of union; society, dissolved by a series of revolutions, exhibited no tendency to reunite into a single whole. Of that great Roman empire, to that colossus which had overshadowed the whole earth,—after repeated convulsions, after sufferings and calamities without example, prolonged through eight centuries,—there remained only the dust. But the work of destruction was accomplished; and even from that dust were to be hereafter moulded the new social structures which divide Europe at the present day.

## CHAP. XXIV.

DEMAND FOR UNITY AND ARRANGEMENT BY THE HUMAN MIND. — DIFFICULTY OF SUPPLYING THIS DEMAND IN HISTORY. — PECULIAR DIFFICULTIES ATTACHED TO THE PORTION TREATED OF IN THESE VOLUMES. — CURSORY REVIEW OF TOPICS. — REASONS FOR STOPPING AT THE YEAR 1000. — GENERAL BELIEF AT THAT PERIOD, OF THE APPROACHING END OF THE WORLD. — THREE DISTINCT CHARACTERS OF EUROPEAN NATIONS. — 1. UNPROFITABLE ERUDITION AND MENTAL FEEBLENESS OF THE GREEKS. — WORKS OF PHOTIUS, LEO THE PHILOSOPHER, AND CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS. — 2. MENTAL ACTIVITY AND LOVE OF LIBERTY OF THE ITALIANS. — VENICE. — PISA. — GENOA. — CHARACTER OF THEIR SAILORS AND MERCHANTS. — REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS OF THE LOMBARD CITIES. — REVIVAL OF LETTERS NEARLY COINCIDENT WITH THAT OF LIBERTY. — 3. SPIRIT OF CHIVALRY OF THE FRANKS. — THIS SPIRIT THE EXCLUSIVE DISTINCTION OF THE NOBLES. — NECESSITY FOR SELF-DEFENCE CAUSED BY THE WEAKNESS OF THE GOVERNMENT. — CASTLES. — BODY ARMOUR. — MORAL EFFECTS OF FEUDALISM. — COMPLETE DEGRADATION OF THE HUMAN SPECIES DURING THE PREVIOUS EIGHT CENTURIES. — ABSOLUTE PREDOMINANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SELFISHNESS — THAT PRINCIPLE INCOMPATIBLE WITH ANY VIRTUE OR ANY GLORY.

The human mind appears to be incapable of forming a clear conception or picture of facts which bear no relation to each other; of unconnected narratives; of results independent of a common cause. When a variety of objects are placed before the mind, it labours to classify them — to reduce them to a system; nor till this is accomplished does it readily grasp, or firmly retain them. We find this principle — this fundamental necessity for unity and symmetry in all the productions of the mind, displayed in the fine arts; this demand for system, in the arrangement of the sciences. This unity, pervading all the separate portions of a subject, exists, generally, less in things themselves than in our own faculties: nor, till we have mastered it, are our understandings

in a state to take in new knowledge. The very word, indeed, to *conceive*—to take together—implies this operation of the mind.

But, of all branches of human knowledge, that which appears the most difficult to subject to unity of design, is history. We constantly find events implicated, which are, in fact, wholly independent of each other: causes become confounded with effects, and effects in turn take the place of causes; thousands of interests, foreign to each other, intermingle, without either uniting, or neutralising each other. The history of one man, or the history of one people, would, however, present a system, an organic whole, to the mind; —a central point, around which we might arrange all subsidiary objects. But, when we seek to discover truth in a concatenation of facts, we must give up this central point; for, as no nation, or hardly any, has an isolated existence, the history of any single one cannot be detached from that of the rest: age is enlinked with age—generation with generation; causes are connected together; nations act and react upon each other. The nation, the individual, or the epoch which we detach from all surrounding circumstances, to set it, as it were, in a separate frame and concentrate attention upon it, will appear to greater advantage, as far as the art of the historian is concerned, but will be treated with a less conscientious regard to truth. If it be our object to become thoroughly acquainted with facts, to draw from history every lesson she can afford, we must take her such as she really is;—a varied tissue, whose threads, of which we can discover neither the beginning nor the end, reach from points the most remote, the most independent of each other.

If such be the defect of history in general, more particularly is it that of the period upon which we have endeavoured, in this work, to fix the notice of the public. We have passed in review the first thousand years of Christianity, and have especially devoted our attention to the eight centuries which elapsed from the

time that the Antonines united almost the whole of the known earth under a government apparently affording security for order and tranquillity, to the epoch when every successive effort of man to reconstruct a great monarchy failed; and when, at the end of the tenth century, society seemed in a state of general dissolution. We have thought this period worthy of peculiar attention, because its influence has been permanent; because it contains the germ of the opinions, the feelings, the institutions, the actions which we see in operation under our own eyes; because it has been fertile in experiments, both on forms of government and on the varieties of moral education to which mankind can be subjected. Nevertheless, this period, which we have just examined, is so entirely wanting in unity, that it is nearly impossible to designate it by one common name.

When I invited my readers to accompany me in my pilgrimage through these desolate and barren tracts, I dared not indicate with precision the goal towards which we were to tend, or the limits of the region we were about to explore; I dared not tell them that the horizon was bounded on every side by thick darkness, and that our way would be marked by little but the streams of blood or of mire which we were likely to meet: I dared not forewarn them that they were not to expect, as a recompense for their labour, to behold the display of great and noble characters, of sublime efforts of public virtue, or of those living sketches of manners which it is reserved for the historians of the golden ages of literature to trace; aided as they are by the graphic imagination of the poets from whom they take their subjects, and by the accurate reason of the philosophers who examined and discussed passing events. On the contrary, I have had to offer to their consideration only degenerate or barbarous nations; while the outline itself had to be borrowed from historians as degraded or as barbarous. To trace the route we were about to pursue, would perhaps have had the effect of completely discouraging them; if, however,

they have had the patience to follow my steps, I venture to congratulate them on having traversed this repulsive region. It was a road necessary to be gone over; — the inevitable path from ancient to modern forms of society, from the heroism of the Greeks of Romans to the chivalry of the crusaders. We should be unable to understand either our forefathers or ourselves, were we to omit this period in our study of history. Heirs of a form of civilisation completely different from our own; heirs of the most heterogeneous social elements, of the most opposite recollections and feelings, it is imperative upon us to go back to the origin of things, and to behold whence we have sprung, that we may understand what we are.

But though I did not venture to trace out the plan of such a complicated and unattractive narrative beforehand, it may not be inexpedient, at its termination, briefly to recall its principal features. The decline of Rome, after the loss of her liberty, has been first submitted to our observation. We have seen what had been the effects of three centuries of despotism upon population, upon wealth, upon the public mind, upon morals, and upon the physical force of the empire. We have seen what were the convulsions it had passed through before it was reduced so low, and who were the enemies that, on all hands, threatened this colossus, so formidable even in its weakness. We have seen that it underwent a new organisation at the beginning of the fourth century, previous to its engaging in fresh struggles; soon after which, the Goths invaded the East, the Germanic nations the West, and the Tartars, led on by Attila, succeeded in finally crushing the power of Europe. After many dreadful convulsions, the empire of Rome fell in 478; while a new Rome arose on the Bosphorus, and for almost a thousand years longer feebly kept alive the Roman name in a people alien from Rome, both in language, manners, and sentiments.

After the fall of the empire of the West, we have not

entirely neglected that of Byzantium; but our attention to its revolutions has diminished in proportion as their importance has declined. We have endeavoured carefully to examine the only brilliant period of the lower empire, — that of the legislation and conquests of Justinian; but his immediate successors, as well as the three dynasties of Heraclius, Leo the Isaurian, and Basil the Macedonian, have not appeared to us to merit much attention: as they plunged deeper and deeper into the night of the middle ages, they became more and more estranged from us.

The states which rose upon the ruins of the western empire, on the contrary, appeared to us to acquire increased importance in proportion as they came nearer to our own times. The power of the Goths and the Franks seemed at first nearly balanced: through more than two centuries we have carefully traced the progress of the decline of the former, and of the aggrandisement of the latter. We have seen it, at the height of its greatness, stained by countless crimes, and apparently tottering on the brink of inevitable destruction, at the very time when a new nation, which threatened the Christian world with universal subjection, issued forth from the deserts of Arabia. We have endeavoured to afford some insight into the character of this people; to explain the powerful springs of action which, during the lapse of a century, gave them the advantage over all other nations; and have then sought to show how it was that those springs grew lax and powerless, and the Musulman so rapidly lost his formidable attributes.

The struggles of the Arabs with the Europeans brought us back to the Franks. We have beheld new vigour imparted to their monarchy by the conquest of the Austrasians, and the accession of the Carlovingians to the throne. We have followed Charlemagne in his victorious career; we have seen him conquer, and begin to civilise, Northern Europe; but we have also marked how quickly a mortal feebleness and decay followed upon his brilliant efforts; and we have sought to ex-

plain why the new empire of the West fell even more rapidly and ignominiously than that of Rome. It is in the very midst of these two centuries of decline, that we have endeavoured to show how the dissolution of all the bonds of society had prepared the birth of new states; how the obligation imposed on each individual, to defend himself, had restored the respect due to personal courage, and, by consequence, to other virtues which need its alliance and support; how; in short, from the depths of disorder and degradation arose the principles of a new spirit of patriotism — a new nobility of character. After the year 1000, the ground is cleared; it but waits for the erection of the new edifice: it is, however, at the period previous to that in which its foundations were laid, that we have resolved to conclude our task.

Unquestionably there must always be something arbitrary in the choice of these resting-places in the long chain of time; — these knots, intended to separate, and which, on the contrary, often bind together, different periods. The more extensive the general plan that has been followed, the more complicated the interests that have been examined, the more impossible it becomes that there should be one common catastrophe; that threads so various should be cut short by one common termination. There exists, however, at the end of the tenth century, a cause which would arrest our course, even had we intended to pursue our narrative beyond it: this is, the almost universal expectation then entertained, of the approaching end of the world. So strong was this belief, that it led the greater part of the contemporary writers to lay down the pen: for a while silence was complete; for historians cared not to write for a posterity whose existence was so doubtful. Pious persons who had endeavoured to understand the Apocalypse and to determine the time of the accomplishment of its prophecies, had been particularly struck with the twentieth chapter; where it is announced that, after the lapse of a thousand years, Satan

would be let loose to deceive the nations; but that, after a little season, God would cause a fire to come down from heaven and devour him. The accomplishment of all the awful prophecies contained in this book, appeared, therefore, to be at hand; and the end of the world was supposed to be indicated by the devouring fire, and by the first resurrection of the dead. The nearer the thousandth year from the birth of Christ approached, the more did panic terror take possession of every mind. The archives of all countries contain a great number of charters of the tenth century, beginning with these words: "Appropinquante fine mundi" (As the end of the world is approaching). This almost universal belief redoubled the fervour of religion, opened the least liberal hands, and suggested various acts of piety, by far the greater number of which were donations to the clergy, of possessions which the testator alienated without regret from his family, to whom the universal destruction would render them useless. Others, however, were of a more meritorious nature: many enemies were reconciled; many powerful men granted full pardon to those who had been unhappy enough to offend them; several even gave liberty to their slaves, or ameliorated the condition of their poor and hitherto slighted dependants.

We are struck with a sort of affright at the idea of the state of disorganisation into which the belief of the imminent approach of the end of the world must have thrown society. All the ordinary motives of action were suspended, or superseded by contrary ones; every passion of the mind was hushed, and the present was lost in the appalling future. The entire mass of the Christian nations seemed to feel that they stood in the situation of a condemned criminal, who has received his sentence and counts the hours which still separate him from eternity. Every exertion of mind or body was become objectless, save the labours of the faithful to secure their salvation: any provision for an earthly futurity must have appeared absurd; any monument erected for an

age which was never to arrive, would have been a contradiction; any historical records written for a generation never to arise, would have betrayed a want of faith. It is almost matter of surprise, that a belief so general as this appears to have been did not bring about its own dreaded fulfilment;—that it did not transform the West into one vast convent, and, by causing a total cessation from labour, deliver up the human race to universal and hopeless famine. But, doubtless, the force of habit was still stronger, with many, than the disease of the imagination; besides, some uncertainty as to chronology had caused hesitation between two or three different periods; and though many charters attest "certain and evident signs," which left no room for doubt of the rapid approach of the end of the world, yet the constant order of the seasons, the regularity of the laws of nature, the beneficence of Providence, which continued to cover the earth with its wonted fruits, raised questions even in the most timid minds. At last, the extreme period fixed by the prophecies was passed; the end of the world had not arrived; the terror was gradually, but entirely, dissipated; and it was universally acknowledged, that, on this subject, the language of the sacred Scriptures had been misinterpreted.

It shall also be on the threshold of the long-dreaded thousandth year that we will take our stand, to bid a last farewell to the first ten centuries of Christianity, and to pass judgment upon the general character of those nations which, after the fall of the ancient world, were about to lay the foundations of a new one. In the course of the eight centuries which we have made our peculiar study, we have probably been struck with the monotony of crime; but the nations of whom we are about to take leave, henceforward assume a more varied character. They were already stamped with at least three perfectly distinct impressions,—the Greek spirit of erudition; the Italian spirit of liberty; the Frank spirit of chivalry. We will endeavour to give a slight idea of what was to be expected from this state of things,

and shall conclude with a few words on the morality of the ages which have passed in review before us.

In the tenth century, the Greeks were sole possessors of the inheritance of the learning and science of past ages: indeed, some of their works at this period prove the extent of their erudition. That of the patriarch Photius, which appears to have been composed at Bagdad, at a distance from his library, and with the sole aid of a prodigious memory, contains an analysis and critical remarks on two hundred and eighty books: those of Leo the Philosopher and his son, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, pass in review almost every branch of human knowledge, from the administration of the empire, military and naval tactics, the ceremonies of the court—in short, the appropriate science of kings, down to the most humble occupations of trade and agriculture. Few books seem better constructed to show the vanity of erudition, and to place in strong contrast a vast extent of knowledge, with a total incapacity of deriving any useful results from it.

The fact that this constant degeneracy of the Greeks, this annihilation of genius, and of all the nobler faculties of the mind, took place whilst they were still in possession of the accumulated treasures of the knowledge and enlightenment of the world, is not one of the least melancholy phenomena in the history of the human race.

We believe, or, at least, we assert, that civilisation cannot retrograde; that no step made by the mind of man can be lost, and that the conquests of reason and intelligence are secured from the power of time by the invention of printing. But it was not books that were wanting when the human race began its backward course: perhaps it was the wish to read, which books alone do not give; perhaps the power of thinking; perhaps the energy necessary to render thought fruitful and profitable.

In our own days, we have beheld countries in which the press has been made so entirely the instrument of

arbitrary power, that the reader turns with disgust from food which he knows or thinks is imbued with poison: we have seen others, where perverted notions of religion inspire such a dread of all exercise of the reason, that the believer, surrounded by works which might possibly excite his doubts, trembles before the confessor who warns him against this forbidden fruit, and abstains from touching it as from some abominable crime — a crime, too, which holds out but few and feeble temptations. In vain has printing multiplied books which disclose the horrors of the inquisition, or the absurd barbarity of torture: it were easy to suggest some great nations, and some smaller communities, which are, or have been, surrounded by these books, and yet have not even been aware of their existence. The books of the ancients, preserved in manuscript, eluded, far better than our own, the hand of power; they excited less alarm, and were not, therefore, the object of an ever-vigilant censorship; nor had governments yet learned to use the talents of writers as weapons to be turned against society; the clergy had as yet laid no interdict upon reading; yet books were not the less without influence upon the morals and actions of men.

The richest stores of books existed at Constantinople, and were accessible to all, in numerous libraries, both public and private. The labour of the copyist is, it is true, infinitely slower than that of the printer; but this labour had been pursued without interruption by a very numerous class of men, and on materials more durable than those now in use, ever since the brilliant times of Greek literature; that is to say, for fourteen centuries, dating back from the year 1000. Constantinople had never been taken by a military force; so that all the stores of antiquity were preserved; while the city had been still farther enriched with those which wealthy landowners, heads of convents, cathedrals and schools, had brought from the provinces invaded by enemies; and the high price of books had enhanced the care for their preservation. Knowledge, too, was still honoured;

and the knowledge of the time consisted entirely in scholarship. Commentators and scholiasts continued to flourish in regular succession; their writings are sufficient proofs of the prodigious extent of their reading. All that the sublimest meditations of philosophy, the noblest inspirations of liberty, had suggested to the founders of Grecian glory; all the lessons afforded by the histories of Athens and of Rome, were within their reach. The citizens of Constantinople might read in their own language the effusion of republican sentiments, poured forth from the breasts of men inspired and elevated by the enjoyment of all the rights of a free country; their own manners, their own customs, their national recollections, were of farther use to them in explaining what is occasionally obscure to us: but the heart to understand was wanting. The erudite furnished, with the minutest accuracy, all the details of the mythology, the geography, the manners, the customs, of the ancients; they were thorough masters of the language of their great progenitors, of the figures of their rhetoric, of the whole mechanism of their versification, the ornaments of their poetry;—the spirit alone escaped them, and the spirit always escaped them. They knew how many thousands of citizens had lived, happy and illustrious, in each state of that very Greece where they now beheld a few hundreds of slaves; they could point out the exact spot where the brave companions of Miltiades and Themistocles had repulsed the countless forces of the great king; they knew each of the laws on which depended that balance of power by which the dignity of man was upheld, in those admirable constitutions of antiquity: yet neither the misery of their country, nor the destructive invasions of their neighbours, nor the shameful tyranny of the eunuchs of the court, had once inspired them with the idea of searching for practical lessons in that antiquity, the historical details of which they knew by heart. Study, with them, had no other aim than to enrich the memory; their powers of thought lay dormant, or, if they were ever awakened, it was only to

plunge into interminable discussions on theology; utility appeared to them almost a profanation of science: — a memorable example, and by no means a solitary one, of the uselessness of the intellectual inheritance of past ages, if the generation on whom it descends want the vigour necessary to turn it to account. It is not books that we want to preserve, it is the mind of man, not the receptacles of thought, but the faculty of thinking. Were it necessary to choose between the whole experience which has been acquired and collected from the beginning of time, the whole rich store of human wisdom, and the mere unschooled activity of the human mind, the latter ought, without hesitation, to be preferred. This is the precious and living germ which we ought to watch over, to foster, to guard from every blight. This alone, if it remain uninjured, will repair all losses; while, on the contrary, mere literary wealth will not preserve one faculty, nor sustain one virtue.

For more than ten centuries the Greeks of Byzantium possessed models in every kind, yet they did not suggest to them one original idea; they did not even give birth to a copy worthy of coming after these masterpieces. Thirty millions of Greeks, the surviving depositaries of ancient wisdom, made not a single step during twelve centuries in any one of the social sciences. There was not a citizen of free Athens who was not better skilled in the science of politics than the most erudite scholar of Byzantium; their morality was far inferior to that of Socrates; their philosophy to that of Plato and Aristotle, upon whom they were continually commenting. They made not a single discovery in any one of the physical sciences, unless we except the lucky accident which produced the Greek fire. They loaded the ancient poets with annotations, but they were incapable of treading in their footsteps; not a comedy or a tragedy was written at the foot of the ruins of the theatres of Greece; no epic poem was produced by the worshippers of Homer; not an ode, by those of Pindar. Their highest literary efforts do not go beyond a few

epigrams, collected in the Greek Anthology, and a few romances. Such is the unworthy use which the depositaries of every treasure of human wit and genius made of their wealth, during an uninterrupted course of transmission for more than a thousand years.

The Italians, like the Greeks, might have been in possession of a store of literary riches bequeathed by their ancestors; but they had neglected them, and no longer knew their value. But, on the other hand, they had the life and activity wanting in their neighbours. In the chaos of the middle ages, their minds acquired force and fire; — *incaluêre animi* — the apt motto of the learned Muratori, who has so much contributed to introduce order into that chaos. A strong and universal fermentation was forcing effete and inert matter into new life. The expeditions of the three Othos into Italy are but short episodes in the history of that country; their stay there was short; they came as foreigners and conquerors, and the most extensive views, the highest virtues, in a foreign ruler, cannot prevent the degradation and degeneracy which are the inevitable consequences of his dominion. But, in spite of their German armies, — almost under the swords of their soldiers, — the republican spirit sprang up on every hand. The Italians, convinced that they had nothing to hope from the empire, sought support in themselves; they formed associations; they promised mutual aid; and no sooner were they united for their common defence, no sooner had they entered into so noble a league, than they began to awaken to feelings of disinterestedness, patriotism, and love of liberty; and these generous sentiments were big with the germ of every virtue.

Venice, perhaps at that time too nearly assimilated to a monarchical government by the grant of prerogatives to her doge which in succeeding ages she was constantly trying to limit, nevertheless preserved the seeds of a democracy in the haughty independence of her sailors: it was to her navy that she owed her dominion over the Adriatic Sea, and the reduction of all the cities of

Istria and Dalmatia under her sovereignty, in the year 997. At the same time, Naples, Gaëta, and Amalfi, repulsing the attacks of the Lombard princes and of the Saracens, as they not long after repulsed those of the Normans, strengthened their authority, covered the ocean with their vessels, collected within their narrow territory an immense population, and wealth enough to excite the envy of Europe; and, in short, gave the world an example of the true dignity of commerce, and of the wise alliance of order and liberty in a well-regulated city. Farther to the north, two other maritime republics, Pisa and Genoa, which were probably also indebted to the Greeks for their municipal institutions, their safety from the barbarians, and their infant prosperity, appeared similarly animated with that spirit of enterprise, that daring courage, which were necessary to the existence of commerce in an age of disorder and violence. Their merchants traded in armed vessels, and were able and ready to defend the treasures which they transported from land to land: their union formed their strength, and love of their country never deserted them in their most distant voyages. They made it their habitual endeavour to inspire princes and nobles with respect for the name of citizen,—a name despised in courts; they conceived and exemplified to the world a new sort of greatness, wholly different from those which had hitherto obtained consideration. They were thus preparing for those conquests over the Saracens, which a few years later they effected in Sardinia and the Balearic Isles; and for the powerful assistance which, in less than a century they afforded to the crusaders. Indeed, at the time of the first crusade, these two cities alone did more for what was looked upon as the cause of Christianity, than the powerful empires who buried half their population in the sands of Syria and Egypt.

Nor were the cities in the interior of the country—in Lombardy and Tuscany—strangers to this newly-kindled spirit. They also had built up their walls, and armed their militia, to repel the ravages of the Hungarians;

they already commanded the respect of those very neighbours who had styled themselves their masters. Milan, Pavia, Florence, Lucca, Bologna, refer the origin of their independence and the memory of their first wars to his epoch; several of their ancient buildings give evidence also that the arts revived almost at the same time with liberty. Hardly had their citizens made a trial of their arms, when they strove to produce within their walls an image of that republic of Rome whose memory was at all times so dear and so glorious to Italians. Annual consuls, named by the people, were charged with the command of the army and the administration of justice; the citizens were divided into tribes which usually took their names from the gates of the several cities; the whole people assembled in the public square and were consulted on all important occasions. There they met to determine or declare war, or to elect their magistrates; while a senate, or council of *credenze*, was appointed to guard the public welfare by their prudence.

The happy results of this new dawn of Italian liberty were long thwarted, long retarded, by the fierce wars of the priesthood and the empire: still, the principle of vitality thus reinfused into the human race was so powerful, that each of the new republics thenceforward produced more great and illustrious citizens, more virtuous men, more patriotism and talent, than can be found in the long and monotonous annals of great empires. A century and a half after the point of time at which we have paused, the Lombard league ventured to set limits to arbitrary power; to raise the authority of law above that of arms; and to oppose its citizens to the knights of Germany, led on by the valiant Frederic Barbarossa. At the same time, these republics afforded a fresh proof of the eternal alliance between moral and intellectual beauty. A new language was assuming shape and consistency, and even before it became sufficiently perfect to express the noble sentiments working in the souls of the people, sculpture and architecture,

— themselves languages, — revealed to the astonished view of the barbarous spectator the lofty conceptions hidden in the Italian breast. Three centuries had elapsed since the year 1000; but of these barely one had been a century of liberty to Florence, when Dante appeared, and claimed for genius as lofty a place in letters, as it had gained in arts, in arms, and in the councils of the republics.

With the exception of some cities in the south of Gaul, and in Spain, we must not look, throughout the rest of Europe, for that noble spirit of liberty which was the harbinger of such glorious days to Italy. But another principle, another sentiment, not without grandeur and elevation, pervaded the countries which had made part of the empire of the West, and gave a new character to the approaching ages. This was the spirit of chivalry which distinguished the Franks; not the chivalry of romance, but of history—the exaltation of the sentiment of force and of personal independence.

The spirit of chivalry was peculiar to the nobles; it was in them alone that, at the period we are contemplating, the sentiment of the dignity of man began to revive amongst the inhabitants of the West. We should, however, have a very false conception of that barbarous age, were we to attach to the word nobility those ideas of purity of descent, and antiquity of race, which vanity, aided by the progress of civilisation, has since produced or cherished. There was but little thought of genealogy, when family names did not exist; but little thought of the glory redounding from the exploits of ancestors, when there was no history; but little thought of claims to nobility, when all writings or parchments excited the contempt and suspicion of knights unskilled to read, and who trusted no evidence but that of their sword. Nobility was but the possession of territorial property, and to property power was always united; when either the one or the other was transferred by usurpation or by bastardy, then were the usurper and the bastard admitted into the ranks of the nobility.

Under the early Carlovingians the nobles had sunk into the lowest degradation; they had desisted from the exercise of arms: abandoning the task of defending the kingdom, they soon became unable to defend themselves; but, from the time that the government ceased to afford protection to any order of society, they found in their wealth a means of defence and security, not in the reach of any other class of men. It is a remarkable fact, that the proportion between the means of attack and of defence always varies in an inverse ratio to the progress of civilisation. The more barbarous the times, the more successful is art in protecting man from the aggressions of his fellow-men; on the other hand, the greater the progress made by society, the more do the means of destruction exceed those of preservation. The wealth which belonged to the noble, and which gave him the entire disposition of the industry of his vassals, enabled him, in the first place, to put his own place of abode in a state of security from every attack. But he did not content himself with making his castle an inaccessible retreat; he soon protected his person by movable fortifications, and, encased in his cuirass, he acquired an immense superiority in physical strength over all poorer than himself, and could brave the resentment of those who were no longer on an equality with him, though they might surround him.

The chances were hardly one in a thousand that the knight, covered with a coat of mail; with a cuirass jointed so as to correspond to every movement of the body; with a buckler which he could oppose to every blow; with a casque which, when its vizor was lowered, enclosed the whole head, could ever be accessible to the sword of a low-born vassal. In combats with men of an inferior class, the knight dealt death around him without running any risk of receiving it; and this very disproportion decided the respective values of the life of a noble, and of a man of mean extraction. A single knight was of more importance than hundreds of the plebeians who were unable to offer him the slightest resistance. But, to obtain full enjoyment of

this advantage, besides the necessity of an immense expenditure, an expenditure equal to the cost of arming four or five hundred peasants, he was obliged to keep his strength and address in constant exercise, and to inure his limbs to the weight and constraint of the armour which he could hardly ever lay aside. The baron was forced to renounce all exercise of the mind, all cultivation of the understanding; to spend his life on horseback, with harness on his back, and incessantly engaged in military exercises. He was thus rendered an agile, vigorous, and invulnerable soldier, and far exceeded in physical strength and ability the hundreds of retainers by whom he was surrounded. He could safely arm them, lead them to battle under his banner, and yet remain their master, since their combined strength was not equal to his.

The immense advantage which the impregnable castles and the knightly armour gave to nobles over *roturiers*, was productive of a great moral evil, by destroying all feelings of brotherhood and equality between man and man. But the pride and consciousness of power with which this same armour inspired the knight when face to face with his equals; the sentiment of independence which it tended to nourish; the confidence in his own importance and in his own rights, with which he became imbued, ennobled the national character, and gave to the Franks, what they had wanted in the preceding century, the consciousness of the dignity of man. Rights equal, independent, and maintained in all their plenitude, soon gave birth to laws provided for their defence, and to a social order calculated for their protection. This new order of things, which guaranteed the liberty of the nobles while it secured due subordination on their part; which sanctioned the reciprocal engagements between lord and vassal, was organised towards the end of the tenth century, under the name of the Feudal System. This system maintained itself for nearly three centuries (to the end of the thirteenth), and, so long as it lasted, produced, in one class of society, the nobles, several effects, which it

might have been imagined were to be expected from a republican organisation alone. It restored to honour and consideration virtues absolutely exiled from the earth during the preceding ages, — above all, respect for truth, and loyalty to engagements; it refined and reformed morals; it confided to the honour of the stronger sex the protection and defence of the weaker; lastly, it dignified obedience, by placing it on the only honourable basis it can own — the liberty and the interests of all. Great deeds were done, and noble characters were formed by this republic of gentlemen, constituted by the feudal system; but the imagination of romance-writers alone could look for the courtesy and elegance which are the charm of society under these rough and austere forms. The haughtiness of the knight or baron inclined him to a solitary life: without the walls of his castle, whenever he was no longer the first, whenever he received the law instead of giving it, his pride was wounded or alarmed. Chivalrous life was a life of mutual repulsion; and, with the exception of the rare occasions when the knight was summoned to the courts of justice, to the armies of his suzerain for the space of forty days, or to tournaments, equals in station avoided each other; neither friendship nor social pleasures were made for those times.

The new period of history which opens on us after the year 1000 promises a more abundant harvest both of virtues and of high and brilliant exploits; we may reasonably anticipate more strength and nobility of character, both amongst the republicans of Italy, amongst the knights of France and Germany, and amongst the crusaders. It will, doubtless, be asked, whence it happens that this advantage is well-nigh absolutely denied to the eight centuries we have surveyed; whence it comes, that, amongst a number of nations differing so widely in their customs, opinions, and social condition, — frequently agitated and convulsed by revolutions, — elevated characters are so rare; that virtues are so thinly scattered, that crime is so revolting. It will be demanded, what there

was then in common between the pagan emperors, the Christians, and the Musulmans; between the Greeks, the Latins, the Arabs, and the Franks; why perfidy was equally frequent in the chiefs of the armed democracies who conquered Gaul, or in the vicegerents of the prophet in Arabia, as in absolute monarchs.

We answer, that a grand and fundamental difference separates those governments whose spring of action is virtue, from those which are moved by selfishness. The former, which exalt man,—which propose as their aim his moral education, as well as his immediate prosperity, — are rare exceptions in the course of ages: the latter, which degrade mankind, are by far the greater number; and among them we may class all those which subsisted during the earlier portion of the middle ages, notwithstanding their almost endless variety.

In the republics of antiquity, in every constitution worthy of our admiration, it has been the main endeavour of the legislators to produce and foster noble sentiments in the minds of the citizen; to raise his moral dignity; to secure to him that virtue which is dependent on civil institutions, rather than the prosperity which always remains subject to chance. To attain this end, they have held up to every individual a subject for noble thoughts and generous purposes; an object far more exalted than self, and one to which, they taught him, self was to be sacrificed. This object of the devoted attachment of the ancients, was their country — the united body of their fellow-citizens. Each man learned to feel how infinitely grander and more important than his own interest was this interest of the whole; each man felt that every faculty, every effort of his was due to the body of which he had the honour to form a part; and the sacrifice of self to what is of greater worth than self, is the one grand principle of all virtue.

In all the governments, on the contrary, whose struggles have occupied us during the course of the centuries we have just surveyed, no political principle or

sentiment was raised above personal interest: those in whose hands power resided had no object but their own advantage; those who had framed the institutions of society had been actuated by none but self-regarding motives. The saying of a modern despot, "The state is myself," has been often repeated; but Louis XIV. only expressed the principle of every government whose moving power is egotism. But woe to people and to princes, when the despot of Rome or of Constantinople said, "The state is myself;" when the armed democracy of the Franks, in the sixth century, — when the prelates of the ninth,—when the counts and castellans of the tenth, said, "The state is ourselves!" And honour to the depositaries of power, be they constitutional kings, senators, or citizens assembled to choose their magistrates, when they say, "We belong to the state," and when they act in conformity with this profession!

If we look for heroism in the eight centuries whose history we have traced, we may, perhaps, find it in the martyrs of the various persecuted sects of religion, who sacrificed themselves for what they believed to be the truth; we may find it in Belisarius, who, long after Rome had become enslaved, had still faith in Roman virtue — still felt that his country had a right to all his services; we may find it in the first followers of Mahomet, who braved every danger to spread the doctrine of the unity of God. But all the rest, whether captains or soldiers, whether conquerors or conquered, fought only for themselves; for their own interest, their own advancement. They might be brave, they might be skilful; but they had no pretensions to heroism. In like manner, kings, ministers, legislators, the founders and the destroyers of empires, might display extensive views, profound policy, a large acquaintance with men, or with the times; they might even occasionally do good, and, in doing it, might evince genius or prudence; but they did not exhibit virtue,—for the word virtue implies self-devotion, or self-sacrifice; and they saw but themselves: they sought but their own glory, their

own greatness, their own security in power, the gratification of their own passions; they sacrificed not themselves to others, but others to themselves; and they esteemed humanity, loyalty, all the virtues, all the nobler affections, of less weight than their personal interests.

This fundamental contrast between virtue and egotism—a contrast which abundantly suffices to mark the classification of different governments, as well as individual actions—does not destroy the philosophical application of the principle of utility. As it is true that morality is the principle of all wisdom it is necessarily true that the greatest welfare of all is the point towards which both the virtues of all, and the self-regarding calculations of all, equally tend; that, if we abstract individual interests, the aberrations of passion and the influence of circumstances, the two roads followed by virtue and by egotism meet and unite at the same point. Thus it is that virtue itself may, in some sort, be reduced to a matter of personal calculation; thus it is that we can and ought to demonstrate that the sacrifices it commands are in accordance with the general interest. Self-devotion to what may cause the bane, and not the good, of mankind, is virtue gone astray; the heroism which sacrifices itself for an end which ought to be avoided, is a dangerous heroism. The moralist and the philosopher may be able to appreciate virtue and heroism so misdirected, according to the principle of utility,—to rectify their direction towards the greatest good of the species. But this principle, which, abstractedly, determines what is good in itself, is not fitted to become the immediate spring of our actions, lest general should give way to personal utility. The governments which have given a vigorous moral education to the human race have begun by showing that the good of all was their object—that its promotion was the duty of every member of the society. While they were inspiring the citizens with this great idea, they called the good of all, *their country*, and taught them devotion to its cause. Rulers like those who have formed the subject of our enquiry, actu-

ated by no other desire than that of retaining a power which they could turn to their own advantage, — of dividing among themselves the wealth and the pleasures which that power enabled them to engross, — had no purposes or objects which they could hold forth to the examination or the imitation of mankind; they acknowledged no public utility — the basis of public virtue. They could not, therefore, speak to their subjects of their duties, but only of their personal interests, — of punishments or rewards; and, if they occasionally borrowed the words country, honour, or virtue, (which, though without meaning to them, had, as they saw, such mighty influence over their neighbours,) those words lost their significancy, and produced only a transient illusion amongst their subjects.

We have now closed our review of these long and tremendous convulsions — of this desolating revolution in the condition of Europe. We have seen the human race sink from the most brilliant period of glory to that of the most profound degradation; from the period which produced a system of legislation the model of all succeeding lawgivers, down to the most complete absence of law; from the reign of justice to that of brute force. All that constitutes the grace and the happiness of civilised society — poetry, philosophy, moral and theological speculation, the fine arts, the domestic arts — all, after having shone with meridian splendour, had been utterly quenched, destroyed, forgotten. The combined efforts of men seemed inadequate not only to the production of any thing new, but even to the preservation of what actually existed.

It is at this point of complete dissolution of all the elements of society that other historians must take up the thread of human affairs: it will be for them to show men once more conscious of the tie that binds them to their country; once more devoting their lives to the service of their fellow-citizens, and continually gaining new virtues from self-sacrifice.

The knowledge of what had been swept away before

their time will, perhaps, enable us more clearly to understand all that they had to endure and to achieve; but the spectacle of such vast and sweeping destruction suggests other thoughts, more immediately applicable to ourselves. All that we possess at this day was also possessed by the Roman world; and this we have beheld crumble into dust. The waters that once covered the earth may overflow it again. Violence was but the secondary cause of the ruin; the vices of self-interest were the primary cause: they undermined the dam of the torrent, which, when once let loose, nothing could stop. When the hour was come in which man no longer preferred country before self; when virtue, honour, liberty, were rare prerogatives, without which he learned to exist; then did a world as fair, as glorious, as our own, crumble away: nor would it be easy to assign a reason why the decay of those virtues on which the strength of man is built, should not once more be succeeded by as complete a ruin of his works — as total an eclipse of his glory.

# INDEX.


Abassides kl
Abassides, t lad founded by them, ii. 28.
Abdallah, father of Mohammed, guardian of the Kaaba and president of the republic of Mecca, i. 288.
Abd-al-Motalleb, grandfather of Mohammed, i. 288.
Abderrahman, king of Corduba, ii. 109.
Abderrahman, governor of Spain, defeats the duke of Aquitaine in two battles, ravages Perigord, Saintonge, Angoumois, and Poitou, ii. 48.
Abdul-Malek, ii. 28.
Abu-Musa, ii. 93.
Abu-Obeidah conquers Syria, ii. 7. His summons addressed to the city of Jerusalem, 10. His death, 14.
Abu-Sophyan, i. 296.
Abu-Taleb, i. 296.
Abubekr, father-in-law of Mohammed, i. 297. Elected under the title of khaliph, or lieutenant of Mohammed, ii. 5. His frugality and simplicity; appoints Omar his successor; his death, 6. His instructions to his generals, 8.
Abul-Abbas al Saffah, ii. 28.
Abul-Abbas, the first of the Abassides, massacre of the Ommiades by him, ii. 93.
Abul-Mosleem, author of the "Vocation of the Abbasides," ii. 93.
Abulpharaj, ii. 18.
Abyssinia, i. 56.
Actium, the battle of, i. 27.
Adalgis, son of Desiderio, flight of, to Constantinople, ii. 69.
Adelheid, empress of Otho I., ii. 245.
Adrian, the emperor, his reign from 117 to 138, i. 33.
Adrian I., pope, his ambition, ii. 77.
Adrian II., pope, ii. 148.
Adrianople, the battle of, i. 105.
Ægidius, count of Soissons, i. 174.
Ætius, a patrician, chosen by Placidia, to direct her councils and her armies; his influence in Italy and Roman Gaul, i. 153. His perfidy to count Boniface, 154. Governs the West in the name of Valentinian III., 161. His efforts to arrest the progress of Attila in Gaul, 161. Obtains a victory over him on the plains of Châlons-sur-Marne, 162. His death, 168.
Africa, extent and prosperity of all the provinces of, i. 16. Barbaric tribes of, 50. Subject to the children of Nabal the Moor, 124. State of, 148. The conquest of, by the Vandals, 155. War in, for restoring the legitimate succession to the throne of, 218. The conquest of, by Belisarius, 221. Ruin of, after the recall of Belisarius, 227. Governed by an exarch, 230. Invaded by the Getuli and the Moors, 242. The conquest of, by Akbah, lieutenant of the khaliph Moaviah, ii. 41.
Agathias, a Greek writer, i. 211.
Agila, king of the Ostrogoths, i. 200.
Aglabides, ii. 95.
Aimoin, a monk of St. Germain des Près, ii. 140.
Aix-la-Chapelle, ii. 66. A school for religious music established at, by Charlemagne, 80. Comitia of, 105. Sack of, by the Northmen, 138.
Aiznadin, the battle of, the fate of

the Roman empire in Asia decided by, ii. 12.
Akbah, lieutenant of the khaliph Moaviah, conquers Africa, ii. 41.
Alain, surnamed the Great, crowned king of Britany, ii. 166.
Alan, i. 144.
Alans, the, the first Tartar race known to the Romans, i. 61. Retreat of into the mountains of Gallicia, 151.
Alaric I., king of the Visigoths, invades Greece, i. 126. Appointed master-general of the infantry in eastern Illyricum, 127. Invades Italy, 128. Is defeated at Pollentia, 129. Crosses the Alps, and arrives before the gates of Rome, 135. Deposes Attalus, and again offers peace to Honorius, 138. Taking and sack of Rome by, 138. Clemency of, 139. His death, 139.
Alaric II., king of the Visigoths, i. 176. Killed at the battle of Vougle, 183.
Alboin, romantic story of, i. 237. His conquest of the Gepidæ in 566, 238. He marries Rosamunde, princess of the Gepidæ, 239. He invades Italy, 239. Assassinated by the orders of Rosamunde, 243.
Alcuin, the preceptor of Charlemagne, ii. 64.
Alemanni, or Swabians, i. 202.
Aleppo, i. 278.
Alexandria, ii. 16. Siege of, 17. Alexandrian library, 18.
Alfred the Great, coronation of, in 872, ii. 177. Succeeds to the throne of Wessex, 190. Defeat of, by the Danes, 191. His concealment at Æthelingey, 192. His character and accomplishments, 192. Visits the Danish camp in disguise, 194. His re-appearance at the head of a Saxon army, 195. Defeats Hastings on the coast of Kent, 196. His legislation, 197. His reforms in law and politics, 198. His learning and love of letters, 199. His death, 200.
Al-Hacam, ii. 94.
Ali, cousin and vizier of Mohammed, i. 295. Pr claimed khaliph, ii. 21. Opposition to, 22. Deposition of, considered illegal, 23. Assassination of, 24.
Allemans, the, i. 68. Defeat of, at the battle of Tolbiac, 179.
Alphonso II., surnamed the Chaste, king of Oviedo, ii. 109.
Almanzor, ii. 94.
Amalaric, king of the Visigoths, establishes his residence at Narbonne, i. 198.
Amalasonta, daughter of Theodoric, i. 199. Marriage of, with Theodotus, 225. Assassination of, 224.
Ambiza, governor of Spain, ii. 48.
Ambrose, St., archbishop of Milan, i. 113.
Ambrosian chant, the, origin of, i. 114.
Ammianus Marcellinus, his account of the last words of Julian, i. 92.
Amru conquers Egypt, ii. 18.
Anastasius, the emperor, i. 190.
Anatolius, i. 98.
Andoveia, queen of Chilperic, exile and execution of, i. 247.
Anegrai, the convent of, ii. 182.
Angles, the, ii. 179.
Anglo-Saxons, the, ii. 180
Antharic, king of the Lombards, i. 243.
Anthony, St., i. 51.
Antioch destroyed by an earthquake in 526, i. 215. Submission of, to the Musulmans during the campaign of 638, ii. 13.
Antistius, Labeo, the jurisconsult, i. 51.
Antonia, the wife of Belisarius, her character, i. 219.
Antoninus Pius, emperor, reign of (from 138 to 161), i. 33.
Apamea, the, city of, reduced to ashes by the Persians, i. 178.
Apismar, Augustus, ii. 39.
Arabia, the peninsula of, i. 15. Imperfectly known to the Romans, its extent, i. 52. The conquest of, by Mohammed, i. 300.
Arabs, character of the, i. 284. The scheik of the, i. 285. Genealogy of; hereditary vengeance of, 286. Poetry and eloquence of, 287. National religion, 288. Successes of, ii. 12. Cultivation of science and letters among them, ii. 32.
Arbogastes, general of the Franks, orders the assassination of Valentinian II., i. 116.
Arcadius, emperor of the East, imbecility of, i. 122. Demands peace of Alaric, and purchases it by appointing him master-general of the infantry in eastern Illyricum, i. 127. His death, 149.
Arcadius, a senator of Auvergne, the confidential agent of Childebert, i. 207.
Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ, i. 158.
Aregunde, one of the wives of Clothaire, i. 208.

Arenæ, i. 17.
Arians, their doctrine, i. 84. Condemned, and their books committed to the flames at the council of Nice, 85.
Arius, an Alexandrian priest, founder of the sect called the Arians, i. 84.
Armans, i. 263.
Armenia, the conquest of, by the Parthians, i. 56. Becomes subject to Persia, i. 99.
Armenians, character of the, i. 56. Their prosperity under Tiridates, i. 56.
Armorica, or Little Britain, abandoned by the Romans, forms a Celtic league, i. 144. The confederated towns of, become incorporated with the Franks, i. 180.
Arnulf, duke of Carinthia, ii. 157.
Arnulf, the emperor, death of, ii. 220.
Arsacides, i. 54.
Artaxata, the capital of Armenia, i. 56.
Artaxerxes, founder of the dynasty of the Sassanides, i. 55. His victories, 56.
Arthur, king, ii. 179.
Ascaric and Regais, i. 74.
Asia, massacre of the Gothic hostages in, i. 105.
Astolfo, king of the Lombards, ii. 60.
Ataulphus (Adolf), king of the Visigoths, his reconciliation with the Romans, i. 139. His marriage with Placidia, sister of Honorius, 140. Assassinated at Barcelona by one of his own domestics, 151.
Athalaric, king of the Ostrogoths, i. 199. Death of, 223.
Athanagild, king of Spain, ii. 43.
Athanasius, St., archbishop of Alexandria, opposes Constantius and the Arians, i. 86.
Athens, i. 127. Abolition of the schools of, 213.
Atlas, Mount, i. 49.
Attalus, a prætorian prefect, chosen emperor by the senate, i. 137. Is deposed by Alaric, 138.
Attila, the scourge of God, king of the Huns, i. 156. His treaty with Theodosius II., 157. Subdues the entire of North Europe and Asia, 158. Defeats the Greeks in three pitched battles, 159. He crosses the Rhine and enters Gaul, 160. He burns the city of Metz, 161. Is defeated in the battle of Châlons-sur-Marne, 162. Invades upper Italy, 163. His death, and fall of his empire, 164.
Augustine, St., i. 135.
Augustus (Octavius), period of his reign from 30 B. C. to 14 A. D. i. 27.
Aurelian, emperor, elected by the soldiery; he subjugates the East, and leads Zenobia captive, i. 40.
Aurelian, a Gaul, the Christian adviser of Clovis, i. 177.
Austrasia, progress of aristocracy in, i. 249.
Avars, the, i. 239. Occupy and lay waste the whole of the European continent, i. 279.
Avitus, St., archbishop of Vienne, i. 180. His letter to Gondebert, king of Burgundy, 205.
Ayesha, wife of Mohammed, i. 295. Taken prisoner at the battle of the Camel, ii. 22.

Baderic, king of the Thuringians, i. 203.
Bagdad, foundation of, ii. 28. Splendour of the palace of, contrasted with the simplicity of the early khaliphs, 29. Decline of the khaliphat of, 203. Introduction of the Turks into, 204.
Bahram, a Persian general, his wars with the Turks and Romans, Defeat and death of, i. 276.
Baian, the khan of the Avars, i. 275.
Balasch, king of Persia, i. 190.
Barbary, i. 154.
Baronius, cardinal, i. 79.
Basil I., founder of the Macedonian empire, ii. 204. His origin, obtains the title of Augustus, 205. His wise administration, 206. His conquests in southern Italy, 206. Disputes the claim of Louis II. to the title of emperor of the West, 207.
Basilica, the, compilation of, ii. 206.
Basra, foundation of, ii. 14.
Bavaria, union of, with the rest of Germany, ii. 70.
Bavarians, i. 202.
Beduin, the, i. 285.
Belgium, i. 14.
Belisarius, i. 212. His early life, 217. Chosen by Justinian to head the expedition against the Vandals, 219. His victory over the Vandals, 221. Conquers Africa, 222. Is recalled from Africa, and receives orders to prepare for the conquest of Italy, 223. Lands in

Sicily, his humanity and moderation, he besieges Naples, 224. Occupies Rome, 225. Recalled from Italy, 227. Sent to oppose Totila, recalled a second time, 229. His victory over the Bulgarians near Constantinople, 230. The fears and jealousy of Justinian excited by it, 231. His death, 232.
Benevento, the duke of, ii, 110.
Berbers, i. 49.
Berea, a city of Syria, i. 278.
Berenger I. crowned king of Lombardy in 890, ii. 165. Proclaimed king of Italy in 888, and emperor in 915; his character, 208. Assassination of, 209.
Berenger II. deposed by Otho I. in 960, ii. 233.
Berenger, count of Rennes, ii. 214.
Bernhard, king of Italy, confirmed in the possession of his kingdom, by his uncle Louis le Débonnaire, 101. Revolt of, 103. His tragical fate, 104.
Bernhard, duke of Septimania, his influence at the court of Louis le Débonnaire, 106.
Bertha, mother of Charlemagne, ii. 67.
Berthac, king of the Thuringians, assassinated by his brother Hermanfrid, i. 203.
Blanche, queen of Louis V ii. 243.
Bleda assassinated by his brother Attila, i. 157.
Bobbio, the convent of, ii. 182.
Boechius, author of "De Consolatione Philosophiæ," i. 196. Condemned and executed by order of Theodoric, 197.
Boniface, count, general of the Romans in Africa, i. 153. Chosen to direct the councils and armies of Placidia, 153. Is driven to rebellion by the perfidy of Ætius, 154. Sends an invitation to Genseric, king of the Vandals, to cross over to Africa, 154. His death, 157.
Bordeaux burned by the Northmen, ii. 137.
Boson, count of Burgundy, elected to the crown of France in 897; his speech to the council of Mantaille, ii. 161.
Bosra, the siege of, ii. 11.
Bretons, ii. 109.
Britain, extent of, i. 16. The Roman legions withdrawn from, 141. The cities called on to defend themselves, 142. The Celtic language preserved in, 143. Abandoned by the Romans in 427; invaded by the Picts and Scots, ii. 178. Invaded by the Jutes and Saxons, 179.
Brunechild, wife of Sigebert, i. 248. Regency of, in Austrasia and Burgundy, as the guardian of her grandsons, Theodebert and Thierry, 253. Her character and talents, 254. Her ferocity, 255. Her tragical fate, 256.
Bulgarians, the origin of, i. 216. They devastate the Roman empire, 217.
Burgundians, religion of the, i. 144. They call themselves the soldiers of the empire of Rome, 145. Their condition different from that of the Franks, 145.

Cadesia, the battle of, ii. 14.
Cæsarea, the capital of Cappadocia; the fall of, i. 278.
Caffa, a Greek colony on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, i. 15.
Caligula, the emperor, period of from 137 to 41, A. D., i. 28.
Callinicus, an inhabitant of Heliopolis, inventor of the Greek fire, ii. 37.
Camel, the battle of the, ii. 22.
Capitularies, the, of Pepin, ii. 57. Of Charlemagne, ii. 83.
Caracalla, emperor, issues an edict granting the titles and duties of Roman citizens to all the inhabitants of the empire, i. 19.
Cararic, king of Terouane; assassinated by Clovis, i. 184.
Carlovingian race, rapid degeneracy of, ii. 127. Extinction of, 166.
Carolinian books, a treatise dictated by Charlemagne against the worship of images, ii. 90.
Carthage, the capital of all the African provinces, i. 16. Taken by the Vandals, 156. Retaken by Belisarius, i. 221. Final destruction of, ii. 42.
Cassiodorus, secretary to Theodoric; his voluminous letters, i. 197.
Cava, daughter of count Julian, ii. 44.
Cecilius and Donatius, two competitors for the archbishopric of Carthage, i. 81. Their respective claims carefully examined into by order of Constantine, and finally decided in favour of the former, 82.
Celts, i. 61. Ancient territory of, 69.

Ceres Eleusis, the temple of, pillaged by the barbarian soldiers of Alaric, i. 127.
Chalcedonia, besieged by the Persians, i. 278.
Châlons-sur-Marne, the battle of, i. 162.
Chamavis, the, i. 202.
Champagne, the battle of, i. 152.
Charegites, the, a sect of Islamism, ii. 61.
Charibert, king of Aquitaine, i. 243. His character and death, 246.
Charibert, son of Chlothaire II., i. 261.
Chariot-racing the favourite amusement of the Romans, i. 232
Charlemagne, his character, ii. 62. Extent of his empire, 65. His marriage with Desideria, daughter of Desiderio king of the Lombards, 67. His victories over the Saxons, 73. His public entry into Rome and coronation as emperor of the West, 78. His efforts to administer his government according to law, and to revive a taste for science, literature, and the useful arts, 79. His grants to the vassals of the crown and to the convents, 83. His mode of recruiting his army, 84. Divides his kingdom among his three sons at the diet of Thionville, 95. His character as a father, 96. His domestic sorrows, 97. His death, 98.
Charles, eldest son of Charlemagne, his death, ii. 97.
Charles Martel, natural son and successor of Pepin, ii. 47. His numerous wars and victories, 52. Germanic character of his government and army, 53. His death, 54.
Charles the Bald, birth of, ii. 106. His reign, the commencement of the French monarchy, 129. Flies with his court from Paris, when it was attacked by the Northmen, 135. His character, 153. Defeated by his nephew; his cruelty to his sons, 154. Weakness of his government, 155. His death, 156.
Charles the Fat, ii. 153. Crowned emperor at Rome by pope John VIII., 157. His character, 158. Succeeds to the whole Western empire, 163. Deposition and death of, 164.
Charles the Simple, ii. 160. Crowned at Rheims, 166. His authority circumscribed, 210. Imprisonment and death of, 212.
Charles of Lorraine, the last of the Carlovingians, ii. 243. Imprisonment and death of, 244.
Charles, king of Provence, his death, ii. 153.
Chauci, the, i. 202.
Chemsene, one of the wives of Chlothaire, i. 208.
Cherusci, the, i. 202.
Childebert II., king of Neustria, i. 238. His ferocity and cruelty, 252. His death, 253.
Childeric I., king of Neustria, i. 255.
Childeric II., his tragical fate, i. 265.
Childeric III., his deposition, ii. 57.
Chilperic and Gondemar surprised in their residence at Vienne, and killed by their brother Gondebald, i. 178.
Chilperic, son of Chlothaire I., called the Nero of France, his character, i. 247. Assassination of, 248.
Chilperic II., king of Neustria, ii. 53.
Chlodoald, son of Chlodomir, i. 207. Founds the monastery of St. Cloud, 208.
Chlodomir, son of Clovis, i. 203. Killed in the battle of Veserence, 206.
Chlorus, Cæsar Constantius, charged with the government of Gaul, i. 44.
Chlothaire I., atrocities of, i. 207. His death, 210.
Chlothaire II., son of Fredegunde, succeeds to the throne of Neustria, i. 248. He condemns to death all the descendants of Clovis, 256. Extent of his kingdom, 259. His death, 261.
Chlotilda, her marriage with Clovis, i. 178. Her address to her three sons, exhorting them to avenge her of her enemies, 206. Her revenge accomplished, 207.
Chosroes I., Nushirvan, king of Persia, signs a treaty of peace with Justinian, i. 217. His death, 275.
Chosroes II., king of Persia, i. 236. Conquers all the Asian provinces of the Eastern empire, 269. His policy, 276. His war with the Romans, 277. Conquers the whole of Roman Asia and Egypt, 278. Assassinated, together with his eighteen sons, 281.
Chramne burnt alive, together with his wife and children, by

order of his father Clothaire, i. 209.
Christians, persecutions of the, i. 45.
Church, the, disputes in, concerning the two natures of Christ, i. 269. Substitution of the Gregorian for the Ambrosian chant in, ii. 80.
Circoncellians, the, i. 82. 148.
Claudian, the last of the great poets of Rome, i. 123.
Claudius, the emperor, i. 28. His victory over the Goths, 40.
Clef, king of the Lombards, i. 243.
Clodion, king of the Franks, i. 151.
Clovis, king of France, i. 151. His marriage with Chlotilda of Burgundy, 177. His conversion to Christianity 178. Acknowledged king of the Allemans, 179. Baptised, with three thousand of his soldiers, in the cathedral of Rheims on Christmas-day, 496, 179. Extent of his kingdom, 180. His war with the Burgundians, 181. Pursues his ravages into Provence, enters into a compromise with Gondebald at Avignon, 182. Defeats the Visigoths in the battle of Vouglé, 183. His authority acknowledged over half Aquitaine, 184. Miracles ascribed to him; his zeal for the church and clergy, 185. His death, 187.
Coldingham, the convent of, burned with all its inmates by the Danes, ii. 190.
Cologhe, sack of, ii. 138.
Columban, St, an Irish missionary, ii. 182.
Commodus, the emperor, i. 33. Assassination of, 36.
Conrad I. king of Germany, ii. 222. Death of, 223.
Conrad the Peaceful, king of Transjurane Burgundy and Provence, ii. 234.
Constans I., emperor of Gaul and Italy, i. 80. Assassination of, 80.
Constans II., ii. 36.
Constantine, the emperor, crowned by the legions of Britain at York, in 306, i. 70. His character; he hesitates between Paganism and Christianity, 73. He marches at the head of the British legions against the Franks, and defeats them, 74. The title of Augustus conferred on him by his father-in-law Maximian, 74. Causes his father-in-law Maximian to be put to death, 75. His victories, 76. He abandons the western provinces for Greece, 77. He founds the city of Constantinople, 77. His cruelty in putting to death his son Crispus, and almost all his kindred, 78. His prodigality to the church, 79. His death, 79.
Constantine II., eldest son of Constantine the Great, i. 80
Constantine, eldest son of the emperor Heraclius, ii. 13.
Constantine Pogonatus; his government, ii. 36.
Constantine Copronymus; his wise administration, ii. 87.
Constantine VI., ii. 88. His marriage with an Armenian princess, 90. Murder of, 91.
Constantine VII., 205.
Constantine Porphyrogenitus, son and successor of Leo the Philosopher, ii. 206. His works, 207.
Constantinople, founded by Constantine the Great, i. 77. Engages to pay an annual tribute of 700 pounds of gold to the empire of Scythia, 157. Despotism of the emperors of, 190. Siege of, ii. 41.
Constantius usurps the inheritance of his two cousins, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus, i. 80. Devotes himself exclusively to religious controversy, 85. His death, 90.
Coptic, the most ancient of the Egyptian tongues, i. 51.
Crescentius, the consul; his character and death, ii. 248.
Crispus, son of Constantine the Great; his amiable character; put to death by order of his father, i. 78.
Croatians, ii. 119.
Cunimund, the Gepidac prince, i. 238.
Cymri, the, one of the two grand divisions of the Celtic race, ii. 181.
Cyrene, the colony of, destroyed by the Persians, i. 278.

Dacia conquered by Trajan, i. 33.
Dagobert, son and successor of Chlothaire II., i. 261. His character, 262; his death, 263.
Dagobert II., i. 265; his death, 266.
Dalmatius and Hannibalianius, i. 80.
Damascus, the siege of, ii. 11.
Damasus, bishop of Rome, i. 112.
Danes, incursions of the, on the

coasts of France and Germany, ii. 183. Rapid increase of their population, 184. They invade England, 184. Defeated on the coast of Cornwall, 185. They renew their attack upon England, 189. Cruelties committed by them, 190. Submission of the, 195.
Dantz, ii. 265.
Denmark, civil wars in, ii. 108.
Deventer, the church of, burned by the Saxons, and all the Christians massacred, ii. 71.
Desiderata, daughter of Desiderio king of the Lombards; her marriage with Charlemagne, ii. 67.
Diocletian, the emperor, divides the Roman empire into four pretorian prefectures, i. 16. Proclaimed emperor by the army of Persia, 42. His character and talents, 43. Establishes his court at Nicomedia, 44. His violent persecutions of the Christians, 45. His abdication, 46.
Didier, or Desiderio, king of the Lombards, ii. 67. Imprisonment of, 69.
Dionysius of Syracuse, i. 165.
Domitian, the emperor, i. 33. Assassination of, 33.
Donatists, controversy of the, 81. Fanaticism of the, 82.
Donatus, founder of the sect called Donatists, i. 81.
Druids, the, i. 62.

East, prefecture of the, boundaries of, i. 17.
East Anglia founded by Ulfa, ii. 181.
Ebroin elected Mord Dom in Neustria by the freemen, i. 264. His administration, 265. His death, 266.
Edecon, minister of Attila, i. 171.
Edmund, king of East Anglia, ii. 190.
Edrisides, the, of Fez, ii. 94.
Egbert, king of Wessex, ii. 184. His death, 186.
Eginhard, ii. 64.
Egypt conquered by the Persians in 616, i. 278. Conquered by Amru, ii. 16.
Egyptians, character of the, ii. 29.
Eloi, St., i. 262.
Ementarius the historian, ii. 140.
Emessa, the fall of, ii. 12.
Emir-al-Mumenin, commander of the Faithful, ii. 94.
Emma, daughter of Charlemagne, anecdote of, ii. 96.
England, conversion of, by St. Augustine, ii. 183. Invaded by the Danes, 184. Divided into counties or shires by the Saxons, 192.
Eraric, king of the Ostrogoths, assassination of, i. 228.
Ermengarde, queen of Louis le Débonnaire, ii. 100. Her cruelty and death, 104.
Essex, the kingdom of, founded by Ercenwin in 527, ii. 181.
Ethelbald, king of Kent, ii. 187.
Ethelbert, king of Kent, ii. 187.
Ethelred, king of Kent, ii. 187. Defeat and death of, 190.
Ethelwolf, son and successor of Egbert, his character, ii. 186. His death, 187.
Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, ii. 48.
Eucherius, St., bishop of Orleans, vision of, ii. 54.
Eudes, count of Paris, ii. 165.
Eudoxia, widow of the emperor Valentinian III.; her marriage with Maximus, i. 168. Avenges the death of her first husband by plotting against her second, i. 169.
Eugenius, the grammarian, i. 116.
Euric, king of the Visigoths, i. 152.
Europe, the barbarous tribes of, i. 61.
Eutychians, heresy of the, i. 272.
Evaric, king of the Ostrogoths, i. 200.
Exarchs of Ravenna, i. 230.

Fainéant kings, succession of the, i. 263.
Fatima, daughter of Mohammed and wife of Ali, ii. 22.
Fatimides, entire destruction of the, ii. 25.
Fausta, daughter of Maximian, i. 76. Put to death by her husband Constantine the Great, 78.
Ferouz, king of Persia, i. 190.
Firmus, an able and experienced leader of the Moors, i. 99.
Fiscalins, ii. 81.
Fontenai, the battle of, ii. 131.
France, division of, into four kingdoms, i. 244. Succession of the Fainéant kings, 263. Separation of, from Germany and Italy, ii. 129. Constitution of the new kingdom of, 132. Defenceless state of, 136. Decline of kingly power in, 235. Trade and manufacture of, 239. Decline of monarchical liberties, 240.
Franks, the, i. 39. Daring rebellions of, 41. Their alliance with the Roman empire, 144. No authentic account of their kings during the greater part of the

fifth century, 151. Extent of their empire, 174. Their union with the Armoricans and the confederates, 180. Limited power of their kings, 186. Their barbarous laws, 200. Burgundy and Provence added to their kingdom, 204. They invade Italy, 227. A territorial aristocracy formed amongst them, 244. Extent of the empire of, under Chlothair II. and Dagobert, 259. They introduce the Mosaic laws into their legislature, ii. 56.
Fredegaire, his history of the Franks, i. 258.
Fredegunde, wife of Chilperic, her infamous character, i. 247.
Frisons, i. 202.
Fritigern, king of the Goths, i. 107.

Gaerin, brother of St. Leger, i. 265.
Gætuli, i. 49.
Gainus the Goth, i. 123.
Galba, the emperor, i. 32.
Galerius Cæsar, i. 44. His death, 75.
Galileo, i. 5.
Gallienus, the emperor, i. 8.
Gallus, brother of Julian, execution of, i. 87.
Galsuintha, queen of Chilperic; her death, i. 247.
Gascons, ii. 109.
Gaul, i. 16. Suffers from the incursions of the Franks and Allemans, 87. Ravaged by the Germanic tribes, 132. Feebleness of the Roman government in, 146. Prevalence of paganism in, 147. Progress of arts prosperity of, 260. Becomes subject to the Franks, ii. 65. State of the population of, 66. External relation of the empire, 108.
Gelasius, pope, i. 173.
Gelimer, i. 218.
Geneviève, St., the church of founded by Clovis and Clotilda, i. 188.
Genoa, destruction of, by the Franks, i. 227.
Genseric, king of the Vandals; his person and character, i. 153. Lands upon the shores of Africa, 154. His excesses, 155. Cupidity of his troops, 169. Takes and pillages Rome, 170. His death, 217.
Gepidæ, the, i. 69.
Germany, i. 61. Progress of civilisation in, 65. Government of, 66. Different nations and confederations of, 68. The barbarous tribes of, pass the Rhine, and ravage the whole of Gaul, 132. Division of, into four kingdoms, 245. Superior power of the people in, ii. 144. Incursions of the Hungarians during the minority of Louis IV., 221.
Gildo, his sovereignty in Africa, i. 125.
Godegiscla, king of the Vandals, i. 132.
Godegesil, i. 181. Put to death by his brother Gondebald, 182.
Gondemar, brother of Sigismund, i. 206.
Gondebald, king of Burgundy, i. 205 His death, 206.
Gondecar, king of the Burgundians, devastates the whole of Eastern Gaul, i. 132. His death, 178.
Gonderic, king of the Vandals, i. 152.
Gondisca, widow of Chlodomir; her marriage with Chlothaire, 207. Gontram, surnamed the Good, king of Burgundy, i. 246. His efforts to check the progress of aristocracy in Austrasia, i. 249. Causes of the animosity that existed between him and the Austrasian nobles, 252.
Goths, incursions of the, i. 89. Extent of their dominion, 100. Their progress in social sciences, 101. They establish themselves within the Roman empire, 103. They revolt, in consequence of the ill treatment from the Romans, 104. They ravage Eastern Europe, 105. They contract an alliance with the Huns and Alans, 107. Their final establishment within the Eastern empire, 109.
Gratian, the emperor, i. 101. His death, 111.
Greece, invaded by Alaric, king of the Goths, i. 126. Attacked by the Musulmans, ii. 35. State of, after the death of Heraclius, 36.
Greek fire, invention of the, ii. 38.
Greens and Blues, sedition of the,

Gregory Nazianzen, St., patriarch of Constantinople, i. 112. His zeal for the expulsion of the Arian clergy, 113.
Gregory, St., bishop of Tours, his account of the origin of the French monarchy, i. 176. His death, i. 258.
Gregory the Great, pope, ii. 183.
Gregory V., pope, ii. 247.
Grifon, son of Charles Martel, assassination of, ii. 54.
Grimoald, son of Pepin, i. 47.
Guaifer, duke of Aquitaine, ii. 59.

Guido, duke of Spoleto, crowned king of Lorraine, ii. 165.
Gunthamond, king of the Vandals, i. 217.
Gunthrum, the Danish general, defeat of, ii. 195.
Gurmhaillon, count of Cornwall, succeeds to the sovereignty of Britany, ii. 217.

Harun al Raschid, ii. 95.
Harold, king of Denmark, ii. 230.
Hashemides, the, 93.
Hassan, khaliph of Egypt, ii. 24.
Hastings, the Danish chief, ii. 178. His fruitless attacks against Alfred the Great, 193.
Heliogabalus, i. [illegible].
Helvetia, i. 14.
Hengist and Horsa, ii. 179.
Henry the Fowler elected emperor of Germany, ii. 223. His death, 227.
Heptarchy, the Saxon, ii. 181.
Heraclius, the emperor, i. 278. His death, ii. 19.
Heribert, count of Vermandois, ii. 212.
Heriolt, king of Denmark, conversion and baptism of, ii. 108.
Hermanfrid, king of the Thurin[illegible], ii. 205.
Hermanric, king of the Goths, i. 100. His death, 102.
Herodes Atticus, i. 35.
Heruli, i. 68.
Hesham, ii. 94.
Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, ii. 146.
Hildebald, king of the Ostrogoths, i. 200. Assassination of, 228.
Hilderic, king of the Vandals, i. 218. Murdered by order of Genimer, 221.
Hoel, i. 144.
Honorius, the emperor, i. 122. Incapacity of, 128. Shuts himself up in Ravenna, 131. His mean and cowardly conduct, 135. His death, 149.
Horic, king of Denmark, ii. 140.
Hormidas, king of Persia, i. 86.
Hossein, grandson of Mohammed, his defeat and death, ii. 25.
Hugh Capet, ii. 234. Crowned at Rheims, 244.
Hugh, count of Provence, raised to the throne of Italy, ii. 209. Tyranny of, 233.
Hugh, count of Paris, ii. 241.
Hugues le Blanc, count of Paris, ii. 242.
Hunneric, king of the Vandals, i. 217.
Hungarians, the, ii. 221.
Huns, the, i. 60.

Iberia, i. 99.
Ibraham, sultan, ii. 94.
Iconoclast controversy, ii. 89.
Ida, founder of the kingdom of Northumberland, ii. 181.
Illyricum, i. 14.
Ingunde, one of the wives of Chilperic, i. 208.
Ireland, conversion of, ii. 182.
Irene, the empress, ii. 88. Re-establishes the worship of images, 89. Her ambition, 90. Causes the murder of her son Constantius, 91. Is dethroned, and banished to Lesbos, 115.
Irnak, son of Attila, i. 164.
Isidore, bishop of Beja, ii. 49.
Islamism, ii. 3.
Istria and Dalmatia, the celebrated league of, i. 242.
Italians, the, ii. 60.
Italy, i. 16. The administration of, entrusted to the Augusti, 43. Invaded by Alaric, king of the Visigoths, 128. Invaded by the Germans, 131. Sufferings of, from the barbarian yoke, 148. Governed by confederates, 170. Conquered by the Ostrogoths, 191. Governed by exarchs, 230. Invaded by the Lombards, 240. Internal government of the maritime cities of, 241. Rapid increase of civilisation in, under the Lombard kings, 259. Invaded by the Franks, ii. 61. Superior power of the dukes, 144. Independence of the nobles, 209. Causes and consequences of its union with Germany, 231. Liberty of the states, 264. Revival of letters, 265.
Iwar, his battles with Ethelred, ii. 190.

Jacobites, i. 272.
Jerusalem, conquered by the Persians, i. 278. The siege of, ii. 12.
John of Cappadocia, i. 212.
John VIII., pope, ii. 155.
Jovian, the emperor, i. 94. His death, 96.
Judith, the empress, ii. 104. Her ascendancy over her husband, 106. Dethronement of, 116. Her intrigues, 119.
Julian, the emperor, i. 87. His character, 88. His last words and death, 90.
Julian, count, a Gothic noble, ii. 44.

Julius, commander-in-chief of the forces in the East, i. 106.
Justin I., emperor, i. 190.
Justin II., emperor, i. 268. His character, 273.
Justina, regent of Italy and Africa, i. 113.
Justinian I., the emperor, i. 212. His religious intolerance, 213. His military policy, 216. His death, 231.
Justinian II., emperor; his character, ii. 38. His death, 39.
Jutes, the, ii. 179.

Kader, khaliph of Egypt, ii. 249.
Kalmucs, inhabitants of Tartary, i. 58.
Karloman, son of Charles Martel, abdication of, ii. 56.
Karloman, son of Pepin, his death, ii. 68.
Karloman, son of Louis the Germanic, king of Bavaria, ii. 153. His death, 157.
Kenneth II., king of Scotland, ii. 183.
Kent, the kingdom of, founded by Hengist in 400, ii. 181.
Kenwith, the battle of, ii. 194.
Khadijah, the wife of Mohammed, i. 289.
Khaled, surnamed "the Sword of God," ii. 6. His death, 14.
Kiersi, the edict of, ii. 158.
Koran, the, i. 190.
Koreishites, the, i. 288.

Leger, bishop of Autun, i. 264. His death, 265.
Leo I., pope, i. 164.
Leo III., pope, ii. 78.
Leo III., emperor of Constantinople, ii. 41.
Leo IV., emperor, ii. 87. His death, 88.
Leo the Armenian, emperor, ii. 114.
Leo the Philosopher, ii. 205.
Leontius Augustus, ii. 39.
Leovigild, king of the Visigoths, i. 152.
Libuin, St., the priest, ii. 70.
Licinius, governor of Illyricum, i. 75.
Lintberg, bishop of Maintz, ii. 164.
Loewefild, king of Spain, i. 241.
Lombards, the, i. 243.
Longinus, prime minister and confidant of Zenobia, i. 54.
Longinus, the exarch, i. 240.
Lothaire I., emperor, ii. 110. His intrigues with the empress Judith, 122. His abdication and death, 144.
Lothaire II., emperor, ii. 145. His death, 149.
Lothaire, nephew of Otho I., his unsuccessful wars, ii. 242. His death, 243.
Lothaire, king of Lorraine, ii. 95.
Louis, son of Charlemagne, ii. 95.
Louis le Débonnaire, ii. 102. His public confession and penance, 105. Deserted by all his followers, 120. His public degradation and penance, 121. His death, 124.
Louis the Germanic, ii. 128. His death, 153.
Louis the Stammerer, ii. 153. His death, 160.
Louis III., ii. 162.
Louis II., king of Italy, ii. 144. His death, 153.
Louis of Saxony, ii. 1[illegible]
Louis, king of Provence, ii. 166.
Louis IV., emperor of Germany, ii. 221.
Louis IV. of France, ii. 230. His death, 234.
Louis V., 243.
Lucan, the poet, i. 31.
Lupicinus, the general of Valens, i. 104.
Lupus Centuli, duke of the Gascons, ii. 109.
Luxeuil, the convent of, ii. 182.

Macedonia, foundation of the dynasty of, ii. 205.
Macrinus, the Moor, succeeds the emperor Caracalla, whom he causes to be assassinated, i. 37.
Madain, or Ctesiphon, the capital of Persia, taken by assault, ii. 14.
Magnentius, emperor, assassinates the emperor Constans, whom he succeeds, i. 88.
Magnorald, duke, i. 253.
Magyars, irruptions of, ii. 220.
Mahdi, ii. 94.
Maison Carrée, i. 17.
Mallum, the national assembly of the Germans, i. 66.
Marcian, emperor, i. 190.
Marcus Aurelius, emperor, i. 33.
Marcovesa, i. 246.
Marseilles, sack of, by Greek pirates in 848, ii. 137.
Martin, St., archbishop of Tours, i. 113. His persecution of the Arians, 114. The tomb of, 147.
Masceezel, the conquest of Africa by, i. 125.
Maurice, St., convent of, founded by St. Sigismund, i. 206.
Maurice, emperor, adopted son and

successor of Tiberius; his character, i. 274. His campaign against the Avars and Persians, 275. Succeeds to the throne of Persia; assassination of with all his family, 276.
Mauritania reduced to a Roman province by Caligula, i. 49.
Mauronte, duke, ii. 48.
Maxentius, emperor, i. 74. His tyranny, 75. His defeat and death, 76.
Maximin., the Goth, assassin and successor of Alexander Severus, i. 57.
Maximian Augustus, an Illyrian peasant, accession of to the throne of Italy, i. 44. Abdication of, 46. His death, 75.
Maximus, emperor, i. 111. Defeat and death of, 116.
Maximus Petronius, emperor, i. 168. Killed in a seditious quarrel excited by his wife Eudoxia, 169.
Mecca, city of, i. 288. The conquest of, by Mohammed, 299.
Médard, St., the church of, i. 210.
Melun, devastation of the castle of, ii. 140.
Memphis, the ancient capital of Egypt, the siege and surrender of by the Copts, ii. 16.
Mercia, the kingdom of, founded by Frida in 585, ii. 181.
Merobaudes, a Frankish chief, i. 110.
Merovæus (Meer-wig, or Sea Hero), i. 174.
Merovingian Franks, i. 10.
Metz, the city of, burned by Attila, i. 161.
Mervan II., khaliph, deposition and death of, ii. 28.
Michael Rhangabe, emperor, ii. 113.
Michael the Stammerer, coronation of, ii. 114.
Michael III., assassination of, ii. 205.
Milan, the destruction of, by the Turks, i. 227.
Missi Dominici, the creation of, by Charlemagne, ii. 84.
Moaviah, khaliph, ii. 22. Civil war between him and Ali, 23. The khaliphate made hereditary in the family of, 24.
Moaviah II., ii. 28.
Mæso-Gothic language, i. 110.
Mohammed, birth of, i. 288. Marriage of, with Khadijah; his character; his religious studies, 289. His description of hell and paradise, 294. His preaching; his first disciples; irritation of the people of Mecca against him, 295. His flight; commencement of his reign, 297. Arrival of, at Medina: military spirit of, 297. His frugality; his first battle against the Koreishites, 298. Conquest of Mecca by, 299. Number of his proselytes, 299. His last pilgrimage to the Kaaba; declares war upon the Roman empire, 300. His last words and death, 301. His political character, ii. 33.
Mokankas, Coptic general of the Monothelites, ii. 16.
Monguls, i. 58.
Monophysites, controversy of, i. 270.
Monothelites, controversy of, i. 271.
Moors, subjugation and conversion of, ii. 42.
Mord Dom (or chief justiciary of the Franks), i. 245.
Mordred, ii. 179.
Morlachia, i. 63.
Moselama, ii. 6.
Moslemah, ii. 40.
Motassem, khaliph, ii. 203.
Musa, his successes, ii. 46.
Musulmans, the conquests of, ii. 7. Their mode of going to battle, 10. Subjugation of Persia by, 20. Change in the nation of, 29.

Nabal, the Moor, ii. 124.
Narbonne, the conquest of, ii, 47.
Nasamonian Moors, i. 50.
Narses, the eunuch, his victory over the Goths, i. 220. Accomplishes the total overthrow of the Goths, 230. Governs Italy as exarch, 236.
Narses, a general of Persian origin; his victories, i. 276.
Nectarius, patriarch of Constantinople, i. 113.
Nero, emperor, i. 28.
Nerva, emperor, i. 33.
Nestorians, the, i. 271.
Neustria, settlement of the Normans in, ii. 213.
Nice, the council of, convoked to try the Arian heresy in 325, i. 85. Second council of, in 787, ii. 89.
Nicephorus, emperor, ii. 113.
Nicholas I., pope, ii. 146.
Nigritia, i. 50.
Nika, or Victory, a war-cry in the Lower Empire, i. 233.
Nisibis, the fortress of, i. 86.
Nitria, the deserts of, i. 51.
Nomenoé, duke of the Bretons, ii. 137.
Noricum, i. 14.
Normandy (formerly Neustria), ii. 213. The feudal system intro-

duced into, 216. Rapid disappearance of the Norse language, 218.
Normans, settlement of, in France, ii. 156.
Northumberland, the kingdom of, founded in 547, by Ida, ii. 181.

Odenatus, the wealthy senator of Palmyra, i. 39.
Odilo, duke of Bavaria, ii. 59.
Odoacer, king of Italy, i. 171. His death, 193.
Olympiodorus, the historian, i. 41.
Olympius, the favourite of Honorius, i. 134.
Omar, a disciple of Mohammed, i. 301. His character, ii. 7. Founds a magnificent mosque on the ruins of Solomon's temple, 13. His virtuous forbearance at the siege of Alexandria, 18. Assassination of, 20.
Omniades, i. 296.
Oppas, archbishop of Toledo, ii. 45.
Orestes, a patrician, father of Romulus Augustus, i. 170. His death, 171.
Ormouz, king of Persia, i. 275. His death, 276.
Oscar, duke, ii. 134.
Ostrogoths, i. 69.
Othman, secretary of Mohammed ii. 20. Assassination of, 21.
Otho I., the Great, ii 209. Accession of, to the throne of Germany, 227. His character, 228. Elected king of Lombardy, 233. His death, 242.
Otho II., his character, ii. 245. His capture and escape, 246.
Otho III., ii. 247. His death, 248.
Otho, duke of Franconia, ii. 222.
Owen, St., bishop of Rouen, i. 262.
Oxford, a school founded at, by Alfred the Great, ii. 199.

Palestine, invasion of, by the Persians, i. 278.
Palmyra, the city of; its government; its independence, i. 52.
Pannonia, evacuation of, by the Goths, i. 148.
Pava, son of the king of Armenia; assassination of, i. 100.
Paris, meeting of the national assembly of Austrasia, i. 250. Sack of, by the Northmen, ii. 135. Second sack of, 140. Siege of, by the Northmen (885–886), 163. Increasing authority of its counts, 211.
Parthia, i. 54.
Parthians, origin of empire of, i. 54. The conquest of Armenia by,
Patrick, St., the conversion of Ireland by, ii. 182.
Pavia, siege of, i. 240. Second siege and surrender of, ii. 68. Burning and sack of, by the Hungarians, 223.
Pepin of Heristal, grandfather of Pepin le Bref, duke of Austrasia, victory of, at Testry; administration of, i. 267. Death of, December 16 714, 268.
Pepin, surnamed the Short, son of Charles Martel, his deference for the clergy, ii. 56. Proclaimed king at Soissons, 58. His death, December 24. 768, 61.
Pepin, second son of Charlemagne, ii. 95. Death of, July 4. 800, 97.
Pepin I., king of Aquitaine, death of, December 13. 838, ii. 122.
Pepin II., king of Aquitaine, ii. 128. Death of, 864, 153.
Persia, the conquest of, by the Musulmans, ii 14.
Persians, character of; religion of, i. 55.
Peter, bishop of Alexandria, i. 112.
Phalaris, i. 166.
Pharamond, i. 151.
Philip the Arab, a robber raised to the throne by the murder of Gordian, i. 37.
Phocas, emperor; his ferocity, i. 277.
Phocas, death of, i. 278.
Photius, patriarch, his works, ii. 258.
Picts, defeat of, by the Scots; final extermination of, ii. 183.
Picts' wall, i. 14.
Pisa, ii. 265.
Pisistratus, i. 166.
Pistes, the edict of, ii. 159.
Placidia, sister of the emperor Honorius; marriage of, with Ataulphus, i. 140. Government of, 149. Death of, 149.
Plectrude, widow of Pepin, ii. 47.
Plotinus, the philosopher, commissioned by Gallienus to organise a republic on Plato's model, i. 8.
Poictiers, the battle of, ii. 49.
Pont du Gard, i. 17.
Pontine marshes, i. 195.
Probus, emperor, i. 40.
Procopius, a distant relation of Julian; his attempt to get himself crowned at Constantinople, i. 100.
Procopius, a great writer, i. 211.
Provence, the subjugation of, by the Musulmans, ii. 53.
Psallentium, the, i. 183.
Ptolemy, i. 5.

Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II., i. 160.

Quadi, i. 64.
Quartodecimans, those who celebrated Easter on the same day as the Jews, i. 112.

Radagost, king of Mecklenburg; defeat and death of, i. 131.
Regner Lodbrog, duke of the Northmen; his audacity, ii. 134. Arrival of at Paris on Holy Saturday, March 28. 845; the sack of Paris by, 135; horrible death of, 189.
Ragnacar, king of the Franks at Cambray, joins the standard of Clovis, i. 175.
Ragusa, the city of; its union with Venice in 997, i. 242.
Rainulph, count of Poictiers, crowned king of Aquitaine, ii. 165.
Ravenna, city of; description of, i. 130.
Raymond Pons, count of Toulouse, ii. 224.
Recarede, ii. 43.
Recared, king of Spain, i. 241.
Red Sea, republics of, i. 285.
Rémi, St., archbishop of Rheims, i. 179.
Rhadegunde, one of the wives of Clothaire, i. 208.
Rhætia, i. 14.
Rhegius, abbot of Pruem; his character of Charles the Fat, ii. 164.
Rhine, the, i. 14.
Ricimer, the patrician; opposition of the people to his assuming the purple; his death, Aug. 20. 472. i. 170.
Robert the Strong, count of Paris, ii. 210.
Robert, duke of France; his revolt and death, ii. 212.
Roderigo, king of Spain; defeat of at Gandelete, ii. 45.
Rollo, a Norse chief, besieges Paris; peace concluded between him and Charles the Simple, ii. 213. Baptism and marriage of; made duke of Normandy, ii. 214. Rigorous justice of, 216.
Roma, Campagna di, i. 173.
Romagna, ii. 60.
Romanus, the prefect; his tyranny over the Moors, i. 99.
Romanus, governor of Syria; his treachery, ii. 11.
Romanus Lecapenus, ii. 207.
Rome; fall of the empire of, in the West, i. 14. Boundaries of, 13. Extent of the territories of, 14. Enumeration of the provinces of, 17. Ancient architecture of, 18. The title and duties of Roman citizens granted to all the inhabitants of the empire, 19. State of the population, 20. Destruction of small proprietors, 24. Debasement of the Roman character, 25. Military force of the empire, 29. Aggregate of the legions, 30. Prosperity of the provinces, 30. Fidelity of the army, 32. Flourishing state of art during the reign of Adrian, 34. Depopulation of the empire, 35. Soldiers of fortune usurp the empire, 37. Excesses of the soldiers, 38. Barbarian incursions on the frontiers, 39. The emperors elected by the soldiers, 40. A grant made to the see of, by Pepin, 61. The empire ruled by six emperors together, 75. Downfall of paganism in, 94. Oppression of the magistrates of the curiæ, 97. Corruption and effeminacy of the people, 118. Partition of the empire between the two sons of Theodosius, 129. Taking and sack of, by Alaric, April 24. 410, 138. Progress of the doctrine of the divine right of kings, 148. Superiority of the empire in its military skill, 162. The causes which conspired to its overthrow, 166. Taking and pillage of, by Genseric, king of the Vandals, 169. The titular consulate abolished in (541), 214. Invasion of barbarians; the cities overwhelmed by earthquakes; attacked by a plague which lasted from 543 to 594, 215. Siege and capture of, by Totila, December 17. 546, 220. Chariot-racing introduced into all the great towns, 232. Disgraceful state of the pontificate, 237.
Romulus Augustus elected emperor, i. 171.
Roncesvalles, the battle of, i. 54.
Rosamunde, daughter of Cunimund; marriage of with Alboin, i. 238. Causes the assassination of her husband, 243.
Rotrude, daughter of Charlemagne, ii. 97.
Rouen, pillage and burning of, by Ottar, duke of the Northmen, ii. 134.
Rudolf founds the monarchy of Transjurane Burgundy, ii. 165.

Rudolf II., king of Transjurane Burgundy, unites the government of Italy with that of Switzerland, ii. 207.
Rudolf, king of France, death of, i. 220.
Rufinus, an able Gallic jurisconsul, præfect of the East, his vices; his murder, i. 123.
Rugilas, king of the Huns, i. 157.
Runic, the written character used by the Teutonic tribes, i. 65.
Russians, one of the most powerful of the Slavonic race, i. 64.

Sachsen, i. 68.
Salee, situated in the present kingdom of Morocco, i. 49.
Sanchez, surnamed Mitarra, duke of Gascony, ii. 166.
[illegible] provinces of the East; his invasion checked by the fortress of Nisibis, i. 86. The conquest of Iberia and Armenia by, 99.
Saracens, military and monastic character united in their warriors, ii. 4. Their fleet destroyed by the Greek "Fire," 38. Defeat of, at the battle of Poictiers, 49. Division of their empire, 92. Settlements of, in France and Italy, 220.
Sarmati, the, i. 64.
Sarmatian horsemen, description of, i. 64.
Sassanides, the, i. 90.
Saxons, the number and character of, ii. 69. Their war with Charlemagne, 71. Submission of; they violate their engagement, 72. Massacre of all the Saxon prisoners at Verden, in 287; final subjugation of, 73. Invasion of Britain by, 179. State of the people, 193.
Scandinavia, ii. 108.
Schwaben, i. 68.
Sciences, moral and political history inseparably connected with, i. 3. Social, 7.
Scots, different tribes of, march across the whole extent of Britain; their cruelties, i. 98.
Scythians, or Tartars, their manners and mode of life, i. 57. Their ferocity in war, 58. Freedom of; sovereignty of, 58. Domestic slavery, 59. The race of, remarkable for their ugliness, 61.
Seid, i. 300.
Shah Poor, the Persian monarch, the conquest of Armenia by, i. 39.
Shiahs, origin of the sect of, ii. 23.
Sicambrians, i. 202.
Sicily, invasion of, by the Musulmans, ii. 112.
Siegbert, king of the Ripuarians, assassination of, by his son, at the instigation of Clovis, i. 184.
Siegbert, king of Austrasia, marriage of, with Brunchilde; assassination of, by two pages of Fredegunde, i. 248.
Siegeric, king of the Visigoths; his death, i. 151.
Sigismund, St., king of Burgundy, i. 205. Founds the convent of St. Maurice, in the Valais; his death, 206.
Silingi, the extermination of, i. 258.
Simocatta, Theophylact, i. 258.
Singara, the battle of, i. 86.
Siroes, son and successor of Chosroes II., i. 281.
Slavonians, extent of their territory, subjugation of, by the Romans, i. [illegible].
Slavonic tribes, ii. 111.
Sogdiana, i. 59.
Soliman, ii. 40.
Sophia, empress of Justin II., i. 274.
Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, ii. 12.
Spain, division of, i. 16. Invasion of, by the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alans; portioned out among its Germanic conquerors, 132. State of the Roman towns of, governed by dukes, 230. Civil wars in, 241. Independence of the maritime towns of, 242. Conquest of, by the Musulmans, 268. Introduction of the Saracens into, ii. 43. Rapid increase of the population of Moorish Spain; celebrity of the schools, 110.
Spanish Marches, ii. 77.
Stauracius, emperor of Greece, 113.
Stephania, her revenge for the death of her husband Crescentius, ii. 248.
Stephen II., pope, his application to Pepin; enthusiasm excited by him in the Franks, ii. 60.
Stilicho, a soldier of fortune, his greatness of mind, i. 124. His campaign in Greece against Alaric, 127. His victories, 129. Destroys the armies of Radogast by famine, 131. His power shaken by court intrigue, 133. Ingratitude of Honorius toward his policy in endeavouring to recruit the ranks of the defenders of Rome; refuses the offers of the barbarian soldiers to avenge and

defend him; killed at Ravenna, by order of Honorius, August 21. 408, 13.
Suevi united to the monarchy of Spain, in 513, i. 152.
Summis, origin of the sect of, ii. 23.
Sussex, the kingdom of, founded in 491 by Ella, ii. 181.
Syagrius Afranius, count of Soissons, defeated of, by Clovis, i. 175. His death, 176.
Syria, the conquest of, by the Musulmans, ii. 7.
Syrians, character of, ii. 29.

Tacitus the historian, i. 31.
Tacitus, emperor, i. 40.
Taberides, ii. 95.
Taifalæ, a Tartar race, i. 61.
Tarifa, ii. 45.
Tarik, a daring Saracen commander, landing of, in Spain; his successes, ii. 45.
Tartary, Independent, i. 58.
Tartary, Grand, i. 65.
Tayef, siege and reduction of, i. 309.
Teia, king of the Ostrogoths, i. 200. Death of, 230.
Testry, the battle of, i. 267.
Teutonic tribes, i. 65.
Thankmar, son of Henry the Fowler, his jealousy and resentment against Otho I.; his death, ii. 327.
Thebais, the monks of, i. 51.
Theudis, king of the Ostrogoths, i. 200.
Theudisdi, king of the Ostrogoths, i. 200.
Theodatus, king of the Ostrogoths, i. 200. His marriage with Amalasonta, 223. His ingratitude; his cowardice, 224. His death, 225.
Theodebald, i. 204.
Theodebert I., i. 204.
Theodebert II., i. 255. Imbecility of; death of, 255.
Theodomir, king of the Ostrogoths, i. 191.
Theodora, wife of Justinian, her influence over her husband; her character, i. 219.
Theodoric I., son of the great Alaric, elected king of the Visigoths; death of, i. 152.
Theodoric II., king of the Visigoths, murder of, by his brother Euric, i. 152.
Theodoric, son of Theodomir king of the Ostrogoths, his education at the Greek court, i. 192. Succeeds his father in 475; the conquest of Italy by, 193. His moderation and wisdom, 194. Legislation of, 195. Religious toleration of; death of, August 30 526, 196.
Theodosius, a Spanish officer charged with the defence of Britain by Valentinian; his success against the Scots and Moors, i. 98. Beheaded at Carthage by order of Valentinian, 99.
Theodosius the younger, emperor of the East, prudence and moderation of, i. 109.
Theodosius I., the Great, defeats the Ostrogoths and Gruthungians, i. 111. His character; his orthodoxy, 112. Inquisitors of the faith instituted by, 113. His violence, 114. Penance imposed on him by St. Ambrose, 116. His death, January 17. 395, 116.
Theodosius II., emperor of the West, second husband of Placidia, i. 149. His patience, 159. Death of, 160.
Theophanes and Nicephorus, Chronicles and abstracts of, i. 258.
Theophania, empress of Otho II., i. 247.
Theophilus, emperor of Greece, ii. 114. His character and death, 115.
Theophobus, brother-in-law of Theophilus, ii. 115.
Thermopylæ, i. 36.
Thessalonica, insurrection in (390); massacre of all the inhabitants by order of Theodosius, i. 115.
Theutberge, daughter of Boson count of Burgundy, marriage of, with Lothaire II., ii. 145.
Thierry, eldest son of Clovis, i. 203.
Thierry II. defeats his brother Theodebert in two great battles i. 255. His death, 256.
Thierry III., i. 267.
Thierry IV., king of Neustria, death of, ii. 53.
Thorismund, king of the Visigoths, assassination of, by his brother Theodoric I., i. 152.
Thuringians, the, conquest of, by the Franks, i. 203.
Tiberius, emperor, accession of (574), i. 273. Character and death of, 274.
Tiberius II., emperor, i. 268.
Tiridates, king of Armenia, his death, i. 56.
Titus, emperor, i. 33.
Tolbiac, the battle of, i. 179.
Totila, king of the Ostrogoths, besieges and takes Rome, December 17. 546, i. 229.
Touloun, khan of the Georgians, his victories over the Huns, i. 130.
Tours, domination of the priests in, i. 147.

Trajan, emperor, i. 33.
Trèves, the sack of, by the Gauls, ii. 138.
Tribonian, the legislator of Justinian, i. 213.
Trinitarian controversy, i. 83.
Turin, i. 164.
Tycho Brahe, i. 5.

Ubba, son of Ragner Lodbrog, defeat and death of, ii. 194.
Ulphilas, bishop, the apostle of the Goths, i. 110.
Usbecs, inhabitants of Tartary, i. 58.
Uther Pendragon, ii. 179.

Valens, emperor, his weakness, i. 99. Marches in person against the Goths; his defeat and death, August 9. 378, 105.
Valentinian, emperor, his talents; divides the government with his brother Valens, i. 96. His brilliant victories, 98. His war against the Quadi; his death, November 17. 375, 101.
Valentinian II., his education, i. 113. Assassination of, May 15 392, 116.
Valentinian III., assassination of, i. 168.
Valkyries, i. 67.
Valid, ii. 28.
Vandals, a colony of, transported into England, i. 41. Retreat of, into the mountains of Gallicia, 153. Their cruel prosecution in the name of the Arian faith, 218. Their kingdom destroyed, 221.
Venetians, independence of, ii. 111.
Venice, formation and origin of, i. 164. Institution of the doge of in 697, ii. 111. Haughty independence of the sailors, 265.
Veserruce, the battle of, i. 206.
Vespasian, Flavius, emperor, death of, 79, i. 32.
Vincy, the battle of, i. 52.
Viomark, king of the Bretons, ii. 109.
Visigoths, the provinces of Aquitaine and Narbonnese Gaul ceded to them by Honorius, i. 140. The wandering life of; religion of, 145. Defeat of, at the battle of Vougle, 183.
Vitellius, emperor, i. 32.
Vitiges, king of the Ostrogoths, his courage and ability, i. 226. He besieges Rome; surrenders himself prisoner to Belisarius, 227.
Vortigern, chief or king of Britain, ii. 179.
Vortimer, ii. 179.
Vougle, the battle of, i. 183.

Walamir, king of the Ostrogoths, i. 191.
Wallia, king of the Visigoths, makes an alliance with the Romans; restores Placidia to her brother, i. 151. Death of, 152.
Warnefrid, Paul, a Lombard historian, i. 237.
Warnes, the, i. 198.
Wedekind, one of the petty kings of Westphalia, his courage and perseverance; his hatred of the Franks, ii. 71. Submission of, to Charlemagne, 73.
Wessex, the kingdom of, founded in 519, by Cerdic, ii. 181.
White Huns, i. 217.
Widimer, king of the Ostrogoths, i. 191.
Wilfrid, St., i. 265.
William, son of Bernhard duke of Septimania, ii. 137.
Wisigoths, or West Goths, i. 69.
Witena-gemote, ii. 181.
Witiza, king of the Visigoths of Spain, ii. 44.
Worms, the diet of, ii. 74.
Wulford, mayor of Austrasia, i. 251.
Wuttrade, i. 208.

Yemen, the kingdom of, i. 281.
Yezdegerd, king of Persia, ii. 7. Defeat and death of, 15.
Yezed, son of Moaviah, ii. 24.

Zama, ii. 47.
Zengis, or Timur the Tartar, his cruelty, i. 58.
Zeno, emperor, accession of, i. 174.
Zenobia of Palmyra, romantic story of, i. 52.
Zoroaster, king of Persia, i. 55.
Zosimus, i. 117.
Zwentibold, king of Lorraine, coronation of, ii. 166.

THE END.

LONDON:
Printed by A. SPOTTISWOODE,
New-Street-Square.

THE

# CABINET OF HISTORY.

CONDUCTED BY THE

REV. DIONYSIUS LARDNER, LL.D. F.R.S. L. & E.

M.R.I.A. F.R.A.S. F.L.S. F.Z.S. Hon. F.C.P.S. &c. &c.

ASSISTED BY

EMINENT LITERARY MEN.

## HISTORY

OF THE

## FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE,

COMPRISING

VIEW OF THE INVASION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE BARBARIANS.

BY J. C. L. DE SISMONDI.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, & LONGMAN,

PATERNOSTER-ROW;

AND JOHN TAYLOR,

UPPER GOWER STREET.

1834.

LONDON:
Printed by A. SPOTTISWOODE,
New-Street-Square.

# VALUABLE STANDARD WORKS

PRINTED FOR

LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, GREEN,
AND LONGMAN,

London.

---

A DICTIONARY, PRACTICAL, THEORETICAL, AND HISTORICAL, OF COMMERCE AND COMMERCIAL NAVIGATION. By J. R. M'CULLOCH, Esq. A closely printed 8vo. volume of 1285 pages, with Maps and Plans. 2d edition, corrected throughout, and greatly enlarged. 2l. 10s. With a Supplement, brought down to October, 1834.

*** The Supplement may be had separately, price 6d.

PRACTICAL TREATISE ON RAIL-ROADS, AND INTERIOR COMMUNICATION IN GENERAL; with the Performances of various Engines, numerous Experiments, Tables, &c. By N. WOOD, Engineer. 8vo. New Edit. Plates, 18s. bds.

JOHN HOPKINS'S NOTIONS ON POLITICAL ECONOMY. 12mo. By JANE MARCET, 4s. 6d. cloth;—a smaller edition, 1s. 6d.

"Admirably adapted, by plain straightforward sense, for the improvement of the labouring classes."—*Edinb. Rev.*

By the same Author,

CONVERSATIONS ON CHEMISTRY; with a Conversation on the Steam Engine. 2 vols. 12mo., with Plates. 12th Edit., 14s. bds.

CONVERSATIONS ON POLITICAL ECONOMY. 12mo., 6th Edit. 9s. bds.

CONVERSATIONS ON NATURAL PHILOSOPHY. 12mo. 7th Edit. with 22 Engravings, 10s. 6d. bds.

CONVERSATIONS ON VEGETABLE PHYSIOLOGY; comprehending the Elements of Botany, with their Application to Agriculture. 2 vols. 12mo., Plates, 2d Edit. 12s.

FAMILY SHAKSPEARE; in which nothing is added to the Original Text; but those Words and Expressions are omitted, which cannot with propriety be read aloud in a Family. By T. BOWDLER, Esq. F.R.S. New Edition. In 1 large vol. 8vo. with 36 Illustrations after Smirke, Howard, &c. 30s. in cloth; or, with gilt edges, 31s. 6d.

The same work, without Illustrations, in 8 vols. 8vo. 4l. 14s. 6d. bds.

By the same Editor,

GIBBON'S ROMAN EMPIRE; for the Use of Families and Young Persons. With the careful Omission of all the objectionable Passages. 5 vols. 8vo. 3l. 3s. bds.

SELECT WORKS OF THE BRITISH POETS, FROM CHAUCER TO JONSON. By ROBERT SOUTHEY, LL.D. 8vo., uniform with "Aikin's Poets." 30s. in cloth; or, with gilt edges, 31s. 6d.

SELECT WORKS OF THE BRITISH POETS, with Biographical and Critical Prefaces. By DR. AIKIN. 10 vols. post 18mo. 2l.; royal 18mo., to match the British Essayists and Novelists, 3l.; and complete, in 1 vol. 8vo., for Schools, &c. 18s. in cloth; or, with gilt edges, 20s.

LAYS FOR THE DEAD. By AMELIA OPIE. Foolscap 8vo. with Frontispiece 5s.

"A beautiful little volume."—*New Monthly Mag.*

ORIENTAL CUSTOMS; applied to the Illustration of the Sacred Scriptures. By the Rev. SAMUEL BURDER, A.M. 12mo. 8s. 6d. bds.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

### ARCHDEACON COXE'S HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS.

**MEMOIRS OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE RIGHT HON. HENRY PELHAM,** collected from the Family Papers, and other Authentic Documents. By the Rev. W. COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A. Archdeacon of Wilts. In 2 vols. 4to. with Portraits, 5l. 5s.

A few Copies are printed on large paper, uniform with the Author's preceding Works, price 10l. 10s. bds.

**MEMOIRS OF JOHN, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.** In 6 vols. 8vo. with an Atlas, 5l. 5s.

**MEMOIRS OF HORATIO LORD WALPOLE.** 3d Edit. In 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 6s.

**MEMOIRS OF THE KINGS OF SPAIN OF THE HOUSE OF BOURBON,** from the Accession of Philip the Fifth to the Death of Charles the Third, 1730—1788. 2d Edit. In 5 vols. 8vo. 3l. bds.

**HISTORY OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA,** from the Foundation of the Monarchy, by Rodolph of Hapsburgh, to the Death of Leopold II. 1218 to 1792. 5 vols. 8vo. Price 3l. 13s. 6d. bds.

### MR. SHARON TURNER'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

**HISTORY OF ENGLAND,** from the earliest Period to the Death of Elizabeth. By SHARON TURNER, F.A.S. R.A.S.L. In 12 vols. 8vo. Price 8l. 8s. bds.

Also may be had, by the same Author, separately,

**HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS,** comprising the History of England from the earliest Period to the Norman Conquest. 5th Edit. 3 vols. 8vo. 2l. 5s. bds.

**REIGNS OF EDWARD VI., MARY, AND ELIZABETH.** 2d Edit. 2 vols., 8vo. 1l. 12s. bds.

**HISTORY OF ENGLAND, DURING THE MIDDLE AGES;** comprising the Reigns from William the Conqueror to the Accession of Henry VIII., 3d Edit. 5 vols. 8vo. Price 3l. boards.

**HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.** 3d Edit. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 6s. boards.

---

**SACRED HISTORY OF THE WORLD,** from the Creation to the Deluge, attempted to be philosophically considered, in a Series of Letters to a Son. By SHARON TURNER, F.S.A. 8vo. 4th Edition. 14s. bds.

A Second Volume is nearly ready.

**HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES;** translated into English, with Annotations, &c. 3 vols. 8vo. with Maps, &c. 2l. 5s. By the Rev. S. T. BLOOMFIELD, D. D.

"A version as literal and as perspicuous as erudition and industry combined can render it."—*Eclectic Review.*

**MEMOIRS OF THE COURT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.** By LUCY AIKIN. 2 vols. 8vo. with Portrait, 6th Edit. 25s. bds.

**MEMOIRS OF THE COURT OF JAMES I.** By LUCY AIKIN. 2 vols. 8vo. 3d Edit. 24s. bds.

**MEMOIRS OF THE COURT AND CHARACTER OF CHARLES I.** By LUCY AIKIN. 2 vols. 8vo. with Portrait, 2d edit. 28s. bds.

"Miss Aikin's present work, and her previous Memoirs of the Courts of Elizabeth and James, are very acceptable additions to our literature."
*Edinburgh Review.*

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, CONTINUED.

HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION in ENGLAND in 1688: comprising a View of the reign of James II., from his Accession, to the Enterprize of the Prince of Orange. By the late Right Hon. Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH. Completed to the Settlement of the Crown, by the Editor. To which is prefixed, a Notice of the Life, Writings, and Speeches of Sir James Mackintosh. With a Portrait, engraved by C. Turner. 4to. 3l. 3s. in cloth.

ANNUAL BIOGRAPHY AND OBITUARY, for 1834, forming Vol. XVIII.; containing Memoirs of Eminent Persons, who died in the year 1833, &c. &c. 8vo. 13s. boards.

Also, Vols. 1 to 17,—15s. each.

Vol. 19, for the year 1835, will be published January 1.

HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE, from its Earliest Period to the end of the Augustan Age. By JOHN DUNLOP, Esq. 3 vols. 2l. 7s. 6d. bds.

MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF THE LATE SIR JAMES EDWARD SMITH, Pres. Linn. Soc., &c. Edited by LADY SMITH. 2 vols. 8vo, Portrait and Plates, 31s. 6d. bds.

MEMOIRS OF BARON CUVIER. By Mrs. R. LEE, formerly Mrs. T. EDWARDS. 8vo. with Portrait, 12s.

HISTORY OF FICTION. By J. DUNLOP, Esq. 3 vols. post 8vo., 2l. 2s.

LIFE AND DEATH OF LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD. By T. MOORE, Esq. 2 vols. post 8vo. with a Portrait, 3d Edition, 21s. bds.

LIFE OF FREDERIC THE GREAT, KING OF PRUSSIA. By LORD DOVER. 2 vols. 8vo. with Portrait, 2d edit. 28s. bds.

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE, WRITINGS, AND CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES CURRIE, M.D., F.R.S., of Liverpool. Edited by his Son, WILLIAM WALLACE CURRIE. 2 vols. 8vo. with Portrait, 28s. bds.

## MR. T. F. HUNT'S ARCHITECTURAL WORKS.

HINTS ON PICTURESQUE DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE; in a Series of Designs for Gate-Lodges, Gamekeepers' Cottages, &c. 4to. 21s. bds.; India Proofs, 31s. 6d.

EXEMPLARS OF TUDOR ARCHITECTURE, adapted to Modern Habitations: with illustrative Details, selected from Ancient Edifices; &c. Royal 4to. with 37 Plates, 21s.; India Proofs, 3l. 3s.

ARCHITETTURA CAMPESTRE; displayed in LODGES, GARDENERS' HOUSES, &c. in the modern or Italian style. 12 Plates, with descriptive Letter-press, Royal 4to. 21s. bds.; India Proofs, 31s. 6d.

DESIGNS FOR PARSONAGE-HOUSES, ALMS-HOUSES, &c. In Twenty-one Plates, with descriptive Letter-press, in Royal 4to. 21s. bds.; India Proofs, 31s. 6d. bds.

## TRAVELS, GEOGRAPHY, TOPOGRAPHY, &c.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF GEOGRAPHY: comprising a complete Description of the Earth, Physical, Statistical, Civil, and Political; exhibiting its relation to the Heavenly Bodies, its Physical Structure, the Natural History of each Country, and the Industry, Commerce, Political Institutions, and Civil and Social State of all Nations. By HUGH MURRAY, F.R.S.E. assisted in ASTRONOMY, &c., by Professor WALLACE; in GEOLOGY, &c., by Professor JAMESON; in BOTANY, &c., by Professor W. J. HOOKER; in ZOOLOGY, &c., by W. SWAINSON, Esq. With 82 Maps, drawn by Sidney Hall; and upwards of 1000 other Engravings on Wood (from Drawings by Swainson, T. Landseer, Sowerby, &c.), representing remarkable Objects of Nature and Art. 8vo. Half vellum, 3l.; or 12 Parts, 5s. each.

## TRAVELS, GEOGRAPHY, TOPOGRAPHY, &c. CONTINUED.

**SIR EDWARD SEAWARD'S NARRATIVE OF HIS SHIPWRECK, AND CONSEQUENT DISCOVERY OF CERTAIN ISLANDS IN THE CARIBBEAN SEA.** With a Detail of many Extraordinary and Highly-interesting Events in his Life, from the year 1733 to 1749, as written in his own Diary. Edited by Miss JANE PORTER. 2d edit. 3 vols. small 8vo. 21s. bds.

"The most curious and instructive work that has appeared since the first dawn of discovery."—*Spectator.*

**SYSTEM OF UNIVERSAL GEOGRAPHY**; with an Index of 44,000 Names. By M. MALTE BRUN. Complete in 9 vols. 8vo. £7. bds.

In the translation now offered to the public, many important corrections and additions have been introduced. The additions to the Description of Great Britain and Ireland are more especially extensive: in fact, this portion of the translation has been entirely re-written, and rather merits the title of an original work. The GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX will be found to be the most accurate and comprehensive work of the kind in our language: it is so constructed as to be a Table of Reference to the whole work, while it forms an extensive and useful GAZETTEER.

By the same Author,

**PRINCIPLES OF MATHEMATICAL, PHYSICAL, AND POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY**; 1 vol. 8vo. 2d edit. Improved by the most recent Information, derived from various sources. 15s boards.

**GUIDE TO ALL THE WATERING AND SEA-BATHING PLACES**, including the SCOTCH Watering Places; with a Description of the Lakes, and a Tour through Wales. In a portable volume, with 24 Views and Maps, price 15s. bound.

**EGYPT AND MOHAMMED ALI**; or, Travels in the Valley of the Nile: containing a Description of all the remarkable Ruins, and other Monuments of Antiquity, in Egypt and Nubia, from the Mediterranean to the Second Cataract; together with an Account of the Government and Personal Character of the Pasha, his Harems, Palaces, &c.; Sketches of Native Manners; Schools; Manufactories; Excursion to the beautiful Nome of Arsinoë, and Lake Mœris; History of the War in Syria, &c. By JAMES AUGUSTUS ST. JOHN. 2 vols. 8vo. 30s. bds.

**EDINBURGH GAZETTEER, OR COMPENDIOUS GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY**, 2nd Edit. in 1 large vol. 8vo. with an Abstract of the Population Return of 1831, and Maps, 18s. bds.

As an Accompaniment to the above Gazetteer,

**NEW GENERAL ATLAS**, constructed by A. ARROWSMITH, in 54 Maps, including recent Discoveries. Royal 4to. 30s. hf-bd.; cold. 2l. 12s. 6d.

**ORIGINAL PICTURE OF LONDON.** Re-edited by J. BRITTON, F.S.A. &c. With upwards of 100 Views of Public Buildings, Plans, Maps, &c. 27th edit. corrected to present time, 9s. bd.; with Maps only, 6s.

## SIDNEY HALL'S GENERAL ATLAS.

Corrected to 1834.

**NEW GENERAL ATLAS OF FIFTY-THREE MAPS**, printed on drawing elephant paper, with the Divisions and Boundaries carefully coloured; constructed entirely from New Drawings, and engraved by SIDNEY HALL. In 17 Parts, any of which may be had separately, 10s. 6d. each.

COMPLETE.

| | *l.* | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Folded in half, bound in cloth | 8 | 18 | 6 |
| Ditto half-bd. in Russia | 9 | 9 | 0 |
| In the full size, half-bd. in Russia | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| In the full size, hf.-bd. in Russia, Proofs on India paper | 14 | 5 | 0 |

"We have taken some pains to examine this new Atlas, and we can safely state our conviction of its general superiority to all other Atlases."—*Sphynx* (conducted by J. S. Buckingham, Esq.).

**ALPHABETICAL INDEX** of all the NAMES contained in the above ATLAS, with references to the Number of the Maps, and the Latitude and Longitude in which the Places are to be found. Royal 8vo. 21s. in cloth.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

SELECTIONS FROM THE EDINBURGH REVIEW; comprising the best Articles in that Journal, from its commencement to the present time; With a Preliminary Dissertation, and Notes. Edited by MAURICE CROSS, Esq., Secretary of the Belfast Historic Society. 4 large vols. 8vo. 3*l.* 3*s.* bds.

GENERAL INDEX TO THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, from Vol. XXI. to L. 12*s.*

INDEX to Vols. I. to XX. 15*s.* bds.

GREEK TESTAMENT, with English Notes, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical. By the Rev. S. T. BLOOMFIELD, D. D. F. S. A., Vicar of Bisbrooke, Rutland, &c.; 2 closely-printed volumes, 8vo. 36*s.* bds. Adapted for Academical Students, Candidates for Holy Orders, and Theological Readers generally.

TRADITIONS OF LANCASHIRE. By J. ROBY, Esq. M. R. S. L. With highly finished Plates by Finden, and Wood-cuts by Williams, &c.

FIRST SERIES.—2 vols. demy 8vo. (2d. edit.) 2*l.* 2*s.* in cloth; royal 8vo. (1st. edit.) with India Proofs, 4*l.* 4*s.*; and with India Proofs and Etchings, 4*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*

SECOND SERIES.—2 vols demy 8vo. 2*l.* 2*s.* in cloth; royal 8vo. with India Proofs, 3*l.* 3*s.*; and with India Proofs and Etchings, 4*l.* 4*s.*

INSTRUCTIONS TO YOUNG SPORTSMEN in all that relates to Guns and Shooting. By Lieut.-Col. P. HAWKER. With an Abridgment of the New Game Laws. 30 Plates and Wood-cuts. 8vo. 7th Edit. 18*s.* cloth.

WORKS OF WILLIAM PALEY, D.D. with additional Sermons, &c. and a Life of the Author. By the Rev. E. PALEY, M.A. New Edition. 6 vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 14*s.* bds.

SERMONS ON SEVERAL SUBJECTS. By W. PALEY, D.D. 8th Edit., 10*s.* 6*d.* bds.

PLAIN INSTRUCTIONS TO EXECUTORS AND ADMINISTRATORS, shewing the Duties incident to the due Performance of their Trusts, &c. 8vo. 4th Edit. enlarged. 8*s.* bds.

TREATISE ON THE VALUATION of PROPERTY for the POOR'S RATE. By J. S. BAYLDON 8vo. new Edit. enlarged, 7*s.* 6*d.*

ART OF VALUING RENTS and TILLAGES, &c. By J. S. BAYLDON. 4th Edit. 7*s.* bds.

SUNDAY LIBRARY: a Selection of SERMONS from Eminent Divines of the Church of England, chiefly within the last half century. With Notes, &c. by the Rev. T. F. DIBDIN, D. D. 6 vols. small 8vo. & Portraits. 30*s.* cloth.

STEEL'S SHIP-MASTER'S ASSISTANT, AND OWNER'S MANUAL; containing the Laws of the Customs—Duties, Navigation Act, Registry of Ships, Smuggling Act, British Fisheries, Insurance, Pilotage, &c. &c. 21st Edition, newly arranged, and corrected to 1833-4, by J. STIKEMAN, Custom-House Agent. The Mathematical Part by Dr. KELLY. 1 large vol. 8vo. 21*s.* bds.; 22*s.* 6*d.* bd.

MEMOIR ON SUSPENSION BRIDGES, with Descriptions; also, Experiments on Bars and Wires, Rules for Computations, &c. By C. S. DREWRY, Civil Engineer. 8vo. with Plates and Cuts, 12*s.* bds.

LACON; OR, MANY THINGS IN FEW WORDS. By the Rev. C. C. COLTON. 1 vol. 8vo. 12*s.* cloth, new Edition.

PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY. By JOHN BURNS, M.D. 4th Edit. 7*s.* bds.

TREATISE ON THE STEAM ENGINE; Historical, Practical, and Descriptive. By J. FAREY, Engineer. 4to. with 25 Plates by Lowry, 5*l.* 5*s.* bds.—Vol. II. is in the press.

MEDICAL GUIDE: for the Use of the Clergy, Heads of Families and Seminaries, &c. By R. REECE, M. D. 8vo. 10th Edit., enlarged. 12*s.* bds.

LITERARY RECOLLECTIONS. By the Rev. R. WARNER, F.A.S. 2 vols. 8vo. 26*s.* bds.

ELEMENTS OF AGRICULTURAL CHEMISTRY. By Sir HUMPHRY DAVY, Bart. 8vo. 4th Edit. 15*s.* bds.

## MR. BRITTON'S ARCHITECTURAL WORKS.

DICTIONARY OF THE ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE MIDDLE AGES; including the Words used by Old and Modern Authors, in treating of Architectural and other Antiquities, &c. Part I., with 12, and Part II, with 10 Engravings, by J. LE KEUX. The volume will contain at least 40 Engravings, and be completed in Four Parts. Price, royal 8vo. 12s. each; medium 4to. 21s.; imperial 4to. 31s. 6d. Prospectuses may be had of the Publishers.

By the same Author,

PICTURESQUE ANTIQUITIES OF THE ENGLISH CITIES; containing 60 Engravings by LE KEUX, &c., and 24 Woodcuts of Ancient Buildings, Street Architecture, Bars, Castles, &c., with Historical and Descriptive Accounts of the Subjects, and of the characteristic Features of each City. By JOHN BRITTON, F.S.A., &c. In 1 vol. elegantly half bound, price 7l. 4s. medium 4to.; 12l. imperial 4to., with Proofs of the Plates.

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF BATH ABBEY CHURCH, with 10 Engravings, by J., and H. LE KEUX. Royal 8vo. 12s.; med. 4to. 1l. 1s.; imp. 4to. 1l. 11s 6d.

ARCHITECTURAL ANTIQUITIES OF GREAT BRITAIN. In 4 vols. med. 4to. 21l.; or imp. 4to. 32l. half bound.

CHRONOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ANCIENT ARCHITECTURE OF GREAT BRITAIN. By J. BRITTON, F.S.A. &c., price 6l. 12s. small paper, and 11l. large paper.

*** To correspond with the *"Architectural Antiquities,"* of which this work forms the Fifth Volume.

HISTORY AND ILLUSTRATION OF REDCLIFFE CHURCH, BRISTOL; with 12 Plates. Royal 8vo. 10s.; imp. 4to. 1l. 11s. 6d.

CATHEDRAL ANTIQUITIES OF ENGLAND; or, an Historical, Architectural, and Graphical Illustration of the English Cathedral Churches. Price 12s. per No. in med. 4to.; and 1l. in imperial 4to.; 52 Nos. are already published. Each size to class with the *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain.*

The following are complete, and may be had separately, viz.:

*Salisbury Cathedral*, with 31 Engravings, med. 4to. 3l. 3s; imp. 4to. 5l. 5s.

*Norwich*, with 25 Engravings, med. 4to. 2l. 10s.; imp. 4to. 4l. 4s.

*Lichfield*, with 16 Engravings, med. 4to. 1l. 18s.; imp. 4to. 3l. 3s.

*York*, with 35 Engravings, med. 4to. 3l. 15s.; imp. 4to. 6l. 6s.

*Winchester*, 30 Engravings, med. 4to. 3l. 3s.; imp. 4to. 5l. 5s.

*Oxford*, with 11 Engravings, med. 4to. 1l. 4s.; imp. 4to. 2l. 2s.

*Canterbury*, with 26 Engravings, med. 4to. 3l. 3s.; imp. 4to. 5l. 5s.

*Exeter*, with 22 Engravings, med. 4to. 2l. 10s.; imp. 4to. 4l. 4s.

*Wells*, with 24 Engravings, med. 4to. 2l. 10s.; imp. 4to. 4l. 4s.

*Peterborough*, with 17 Engravings, med. 4to. 1l. 18s.; imp. 4to. 3l. 3s.

*Gloucester*, with 22 Engravings, med. 4to. 2l. 10s.; imp. 4to. 4l. 4s.

*Bristol*, with 14 Engravings, med. 4to. 1l. 4s.; imp. 4to. 2l. 2s.

*Hereford*, with 16 Engravings, med. 4to. 1l. 18s.; imp. 4to. 3l. 3s.

*Worcester Cathedral* will consist of 3 Nos.—Nos. 1 and 2 are published.

*** Of the above Works, a *small number* of copies are printed on super royal folio, with Proofs, and with Proofs and Etchings of the Plates.

## WORKS ON BOTANY, GARDENING, &c.

ENGLISH FLORA. By Sir J. E. SMITH, M.D. F.R.S. Pres. Lin. Soc. &c. New Edit., 4 vols. 8vo. 2l. 8s. bds. Of Vol. 5 (Cryptogamia, by Dr. Hooker) the First Part is published.

COMPENDIUM of the ENGLISH FLORA of Sir J. E. SMITH. 12mo. 7s. 6d. bds.

The same Work in Latin. 5th Edit. 7s. 6d.

INTRODUCTION to the STUDY of BOTANY. By Sir J. E. SMITH. 7th edition, corrected; in which the object of the "Grammar of Botany" of Sir J. E. SMITH is combined with that of the "Introduction." By W. JACKSON HOOKER, LL.D. Regius Professor of Botany in Glasgow University. 8vo. with 36 Plates, 16s. in cloth.

GUIDE TO THE ORCHARD AND KITCHEN-GARDEN; or, an Account of the most valuable Fruit and Vegetables cultivated in Great Britain: with Calendars of Work, &c. By G. LINDLEY, C. M. H. S. Edited by J. LINDLEY, LL.D. F.R.S. &c. 1 large volume, 8vo. 16s. bds.

INTRODUCTION to BOTANY. By JOHN LINDLEY, LL.D., Professor of Botany, &c. 1 large vol. 8vo. with numerous Plates and Wood Cuts. 18s. cloth.

INTRODUCTION to the NATURAL SYSTEM of BOTANY; or, a Systematic View of the whole Vegetable Kingdom: together with the Uses of the most important Species in Medicine, the Arts, &c. By J. LINDLEY, LL.D. 8vo. 12s. cloth.

SYNOPSIS OF THE BRITISH FLORA, arranged according to the Natural Orders. By J. LINDLEY, LL.D. 12mo. 10s. 6d. bds.

OUTLINE OF THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF BOTANY. By J. LINDLEY, LL.D. With Plates, 3s.

OUTLINE OF THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF HORTICULTURE. By J. LINDLEY, LL.D. 2s.

THE MOSSES, AND THE REST OF THE CRYPTOGAMIA: forming Vol. V. of Smith's English Flora, or Vol. I. of Hooker's British Flora. By W. J. HOOKER, LL.D., F.L.S. &c. Part I. (MUSCI, HEPATICÆ, LICHENS, CHARACEÆ, and ALGÆ) 12s. bds. Part II. (FUNGI) will complete the volume.

BRITISH FLORA; comprising the PHÆNOGAMOUS or FLOWERING PLANTS, and the FERNS. By W. J. HOOKER, LL.D. &c. Royal 12mo. 12s. in cloth.

MUSCOLOGIA BRITANNICA; containing the Mosses of Great Britain and Ireland, systematically arranged and described; with Plates. By W. J. HOOKER, LL.D. F.R.A. and L.S. &c. and T. TAYLOR, M.D. M.R.I.A. and F.L.S. &c. 8vo. 2d Edit. 31s. 6d. plain, and 3l. 3s. col'd plates.

FIRST STEPS TO BOTANY, intended as Popular Illustrations of the Science, leading to its Study as a Branch of General Education. By JAMES L. DRUMMOND, M.D., Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the Belfast Academical Institution. 3d edit., 12mo., with cuts, 9s. boards.

"This answers more completely to the proper notion of an Introduction to Botany, than any work we have yet seen."—*Eclectic Review.*

CONVERSATIONS ON BOTANY, with Twenty-one Engravings. The 8th edit., enlarged, in 1 vol. 12mo., 7s. 6d. plain, or 12s. coloured.

ARRANGEMENT of BRITISH PLANTS, according to the latest Improvements of the Linnæan System. By W. WITHERING, M.D. &c. Seventh Edition, including the most recent Discoveries, and numerous Annotations. By W. WITHERING, Esq. LL.D. &c. 4 vols., Plates. 2l. 16s. boards.

TREATISE ON THE CULTURE AND MANAGEMENT OF FRUIT TREES. By WILLIAM FORSYTH, Gardener to his Majesty. 8vo. 7th Edit. with Plates and Portrait. 13s. bds.

## NATURAL HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION TO GEOLOGY; containing a Practical Knowledge of the Science, and comprising the most important recent discoveries. By R. BAKEWELL. 8vo. 4th Edit. with very considerable Additions, new Plates, and Cuts, 21s.

NEW SYSTEM OF GEOLOGY, in which the great Revolutions of the Earth and Animated Nature are reconciled to Modern Science and to Sacred History. By A. URE, M.D. F.R.S. 8vo. 7 Plates and 51 Cuts, 21s.

INTRODUCTION TO ENTOMOLOGY; or, Elements of the Natural History of Insects. By W. KIRBY, M.A. F.L.S. & L.S., and W. SPENCE, Esq. F.L.S. 4 vols. 8vo. with Plates and Portraits. 5th Edit. 4l. bds.

GEOLOGY OF THE SOUTH-EAST OF ENGLAND. By GIDEON MANTELL, Esq. F.R.S. F.G.S. 8vo. with 75 Plates, Maps, and Cuts, 21s.

BOOK OF NATURE; being a Popular Illustration of the General Laws and Phenomena of Creation. By J. MASON GOOD, M.D. and F.R.S. 3d Edit. 3 vols. fcap. 8vo. 24s. cloth.

OUTLINE OF THE SMALLER BRITISH BIRDS. By ROBERT A. SLANEY, Esq. M.P. 2d edit. Fcap 8vo. with Cuts, 4s. 6d. in cloth.

LETTERS TO A YOUNG NATURALIST, ON THE STUDY OF NATURAL AND NATURAL THEOLOGY. By J. L. DRUMMOND, M.D. &c. 12mo. with Cuts. 2nd Edition, 7s. 6d. bds.

MANUAL OF THE LAND AND FRESH-WATER SHELLS OF THE BRITISH ISLANDS. By W. TURTON, M.D. Fcap. 8vo. with 150 coloured Figures, 10s. 6d. cloth.

LINNÆAN SYSTEM OF CONCHOLOGY. By J. MAWE. 8vo. 37 Plates. Plain, 21s.; col'd, 2l. 12s. 6d.

TAXIDERMY; OR THE ART OF COLLECTING, PREPARING, AND MOUNTING OBJECTS OF NATURAL HISTORY. 12mo. with Plates, 4th Edit. 7s. 6d. bds.

PHILOSOPHICAL CONVERSATIONS; familiarly explaining the Effects and Causes of many Daily Occurrences in Natural Phenomena. By F. C. BAKEWELL. 12mo. 5s. 6d. bds.

## DR. BUTLER'S GEOGRAPHY AND ATLASES.

SKETCH OF ANCIENT AND MODERN GEOGRAPHY, for the Use of Schools. By SAMUEL BUTLER, D.D. F.R.S. Archdeacon of Derby, &c. 8vo. New edit. with important Additions, 9s. bds.

GENERAL ATLAS OF ANCIENT AND MODERN GEOGRAPHY, 44 Coloured Maps, and two Indexes. 1l. 4s. half-bound.

*** The Indexes contain the latitude and longitude; and in that of the Ancient portion the *quantities* are marked.

ATLAS OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY, consisting of 23 Coloured Maps, from a New Set of Plates. 12s. hf-bd.

ATLAS OF ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY, consisting of 21 Coloured Maps, with a complete Accentuated Index. 12s. half-bound.

OUTLINE GEOGRAPHICAL COPY-BOOKS, in 4to.; intended as Practical Exercises on Dr. Butler's Atlases. 4s. each, sewed.

OUTLINE MAP OF ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY, selected by Dr. Butler from D'Anville's Ancient Atlas. Folio, 10s. 6d.

PRAXIS ON THE POSITIONS, being published. To illustrate their Origin, Works, a *small* nification. 4th Edit. 8vo. 6s. sewed.

KEY to the Same. 6s. boards.

## POETRY.

POETICAL WORKS BY L. E. L.

THE VENETIAN BRACELET; and other Poems. By L.E.L. Fcap. 8vo. 10s. 6d. bds.

By the same Author,

THE GOLDEN VIOLET, and other Poems. Fcap 8vo. 10s. 6d. bds.

THE TROUBADOUR. 4th Edit. Foolscap 8vo. 10s. 6d. bds.

THE IMPROVISATRICE. 4th Edit. Foolscap 8vo. 10s. 6d. bds.

POETICAL WORKS of L.E.L. including the Venetian Bracelet, the Improvisatrice, Troubadour, & Golden Violet. With uniform Vignette Titles. 4 vols. foolscap. 8vo. 2l. 2s. extra boards.

LALLA ROOKH. An Oriental Romance. By T. MOORE, Esq. New Edit. with 4 Engravings, from Paintings by R. WESTALL, R.A. Fcap. 8vo. 14s. bds. Another Edition in 8vo. 14s.; Westall's Illustrations, 8vo. 12s.

By the same Author,

THE LOVES OF THE ANGELS. 5th Edit. 8vo. 9s. bds. WESTALL'S Illustrations of the Same, 5s.

THE EPICUREAN. A Tale. Fcp. 8vo. 5th Edit. 9s. bds.

REMAINS OF HENRY KIRKE WHITE, selected, with prefatory Remarks, by ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq. The only complete Editions. In 2 vols. 8vo. price 1l. 4s.; and in 1 vol. 24mo. with engraved title and vignettes, price 5s. bds.

RODERICK, the LAST of the GOTHS. A Poem. By ROBERT SOUTHEY, LL.D &c. 2 vols. 16s.

By the same Author,

THALABA, 2 vols. 16s.; Madoc, 2 vols. 16s.; Curse of Kehama, 2 vols. 14s.; Minor Poems, 3 vols. 18s.; Pilgrimage to Waterloo, 10s. 6d.; Tale of Paraguay, 10s. 6d.; Carmen Triumphale; and Carmen Aulicum, 1814, 3s.

POETICAL WORKS of WORDSWORTH, Esq. New Edit. complete in 4 vols. fcap. 8vo. including the contents of the former edition in 6 vols., and some additional Pieces. 24s. bds.

A new Volume is in the Press.

THE EXCURSION, may be had separately. 7s. bds.

JAMES MONTGOMERY'S POETICAL WORKS.

THE PELICAN ISLAND, in 9 Cantos; and other Poems. 3d Edit., in foolscap 8vo. price 8s. bds.

THE WANDERER OF SWITZERLAND. 10th Edit. 6s.

SONGS OF ZION, BEING IMITATIONS OF PSALMS. 3d Edit. foolscap 8vo. Price 5s.

THE WORLD BEFORE THE FLOOD. 8th Edit. 9s.

THE WEST INDIES AND OTHER POEMS. 7th Edit. 6s.

GREENLAND, AND OTHER POEMS. 3d Edition, 8s. bds.

POETICAL WORKS, uniform, in 4 vols. fcap. 8vo. 2l. 2s. in cloth.

## NOVELS, ROMANCES, &c.

WARLEIGH; or the FATAL OAK. A Legend of Devon. By Mrs. BRAY, Author of "De Foix," "The Talba," &c. 3 vols. post 8vo. 1l. 11s. 6d.

THE LIBRARY AT and LADY NUGENT

OUTLINE [illegible]s. bds.

[illegible]LEY, LL.D. [illegible]

[illegible]ightful volumes."—*Lit. Gazette.*

LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF JOHN MARSTON HALL. By the Author of "DARNLEY," "RICHELIEU," &c. 3 vols. post 8vo. 31s. 6d.

By the same Author,

MARY OF BURGUNDY; or, the Revolt of Ghent. 3 vols. post 8vo. 31s. 6d. bds.